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CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1942

THE WAR OF 1914-1918 AND THE APPEARANCE OF DISCONTENT—II

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

III. BITTERNESS AMONG INDIAN SOLDIERS

FROM what has appeared elsewhere, the reader is aware that when hostilities broke out in August, 1914, the Indian section of the Indian Army including combatants and non-combatants was about 2 lakh and 30 thousand strong and that when the Armistice was signed in November, 1918, these numbers had gone up to almost 11 lakh and 62 thousand. In other words, its strength increased sixfold within this period.

One is tempted to enquire what were the reasons which drew such large numbers into the Indian Army. The rank and file coming from the rural areas was illiterate and certainly it was not a burning desire to defend their motherland from foreign invasion which induced them to join the army. Government has maintained that this large recruitment was on a purely voluntary basis, a view to which support is lent if we remember that when that over-jealous recruiting sergeant of the Government of India, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, at a public meeting held at Lahore in May,

1918, indirectly suggested conscription of the man power of the Punjab and persuaded the Recruiting Board of his province to frame proposals to that effect, the Central Recruiting Board, with its eye on the ultimate effects of such a move, felt no hesitation in turning them down immediately.

The Economic Factor in Recruitment

It is noteworthy that a majority of our sepoys come from areas which produce stalwart men but not an adequate amount of food, where the land is not fertile enough to maintain an ever-increasing population, where the number of women is less than the number of men and where the percentage of illiteracy, even in illiterate India, is very high. Men from these areas are drawn to the army largely because it is the one market they know for their only asset, physical strength and efficiency.

In normal times, the pay given to soldiers is sufficiently attractive and the number required to meet wastage caused by retirement, disease and death is always available. But under war conditions, when large numbers have to be recruited, there always appears a certain amount of backwardness among prospective recruits. It may be that these men feel that it should be made worth their while if they are called upon to face death in active service. There is also the fact that the demand is greater than the supply readily available with the result that higher emoluments have to be offered to secure adequate numbers.

According to the military authorities, the experience acquired in campaigns in the tribal areas and specially during the Second Afghan War had shown that "it was very difficult to raise recruits in any number during a war" even from among the martial tribes and castes. The Nicholson Army Committee in its report published on the eve of the last War (1912-1913) endorsed this view when it said, "We have evidence, too, that in the event of a serious war, recruitment would fall off unless the conditions of field-service in the theatre of operation were such as to attract the Indian ranks."

The Punjab, which has always been regarded by the Military Department as its best recruiting ground in spite of the splendid response it made as a whole to the recruitment campaign was not uniformly satisfactory. Compared with less productive regions, areas characterised by economic prosperity showed poor results.

The well-irrigated, prosperous and fertile Multan Division with its six districts made a very unsatisfactory response. Mr. M. S. Leigh, O.B.E., I.C.S., author of "The Punjab and the War" published in 1922 under the authority of the Punjab Government, on page 47 of his book confesses that "It was remarked that those tracts were most disappointing which had the best reasons for gratitude to the British Government, in the shape of wealth derived from (irrigational) canals or lenient revenue assessment."

This opinion is reinforced by what Sir Michael O'Dwyer has said on page 227 of his "India As I Knew It," "Their very prosperity and the needs of a highly-developed agriculture were among the causes that kept back the Sikhs and Mahomedans of Lahore, Lyallpur and Gujrat."

Elsewhere in the same book Sir Michael has stated that the Mahomedans of Montgomery, Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan and the Jats of Karnal and Ambala were equally backward in offering themselves as recruits and for identical reasons.

And yet we are aware that people of these very classes dubbed "martial" by the Army authorities belonging to economically backward areas of the Punjab joined the army in their tens of thousands, some among them contributing nearly 50 per cent. of their males of military age.

If the view that economic prosperity acted as a deterrent as admitted by the above two Punjab officials is correct, the converse of the proposition that poverty acted as a spur in stimulating recuitment is equally true. We shall now see how the authorities utilised this factor in their recruiting campaign.

From August, 1914, when the War broke out and up to the end of 1916, the Military Department did not meet with any insuperable difficulty in recruiting the number required to enlarge the army. But as it was gradually realised that the War would last for quite some time, that the fighting would have to be conducted on a number of fronts and that, therefore, the army would have to be expanded materially, the terms and prospects had to be made more attractive.

Accordingly, from January, 1917, the pay of Indian Commissioned and Non-Commissioned officers was increased substantially. Free rations were granted to the Indian rank and file. After six months, that is, with effect from June, 1917, a bonus of Rs. 50 was given to

each combatant recruit and a War Bonus granted, twice a year, to every trained soldier. Still later, in 1918, further pecuniary inducements were offered to recruits and to all ranks serving outside India. The undertaking, fulfilled later on, was given that the pensions of retiring officers and the rank and file would, in official language, be "considerably raised." The conditions under which pensions would be granted to relatives of deceased soldiers were also liberalised.

Detailed information with regard to the inducements held out to would-be soldiers is available in the "Indian Year Book" for 1919 to which the reader is referred.

It is for the reader to judge whether inducements such as these are necessary to summon to the colours a truly national army eager to fight either to gain or to retain independence. These facts by themselves are sufficient proof that pecuniary considerations played an important part in getting large numbers of Indians into the army in the last War.

Reorganisation of the Recruitment Agency

For the first twenty-nine months of the last War, the Military Department which had never been influenced to any extent by public opinion stuck to its old system of recruitment. In brief, this consisted of "direct enlistment" and "class recruiting." Under the former, the young man, the members of whose family had been connected with a particular regiment, could present himself at the regimental depot and he was enlisted if he passed the required tests and if his services were needed. Under "class recruiting," military officers were posted at certain cantonments to recruit members of particular social and religious groups such as Sikhs, Punjabi Mussalmans, Jats, Dogras, Marathas, etc. The regiments in need of men sent out recruiting parties who discovered and brought them in.

Obviously, a system such as this restricted enlistment within certain well-recognised classes and well-defined areas. While it might work satisfactorily during peace time, it was certain to break down if there was a demand for anything like large numbers, a contingency with which the Military Department was faced towards the end of 1916. It was compelled, early in 1917, to replace the "class" by the "territorial" system under which there was a Recruiting Officer in each division with Assistant Recruiting Officers in each district. All

the officers were military men and these enrolled recruits of all classes within their jurisdiction.

Experience extending over six months was sufficient to prove that the results achieved did not come up to expectations and, therefore, the work was handed over to the civil authorities. Accordingly in May, 1917, the Government of India appointed a Central Recruiting Board consisting of eight members with the Finance Member, Sir William Meyer, as its President. It included three British members of the Indian Civil Service, two very highly placed officers of the army and two Indian Princes. At that time, uncharitable critics noted and commented on the exclusion of Indian leaders, and specially of the only Indian member of the Government of India, from the Board. It was said by such men that the India which counted and which was expected to send her sons to the army was practically unrepresented for the very good reason that even if the two Indian Princes represented their own order, most certainly the British officers, civil and military, did not represent the British Indians who had contributed and would continue to contribute the majority of the soldiers.

This Central Recruiting Board, after considering the situation as regards man power, the military resources of each province, the numbers already contributed and the approximate number required by the army authorities, fixed a quota of combatants and non-combatants for each province. It also made clear that these numbers were expected to be in the army by the 1st July, 1917, so that the time at the disposal of the recruiting agency for getting these additional men was less than two months.

The next step was the formation of Provincial Recruiting Boards in each province to give effect to the policy of the Central Board. Taking British India as a whole, the Provincial Board had the Governor as its President, the head of the Land Revenue Department, the Commissioners of its divisions, three to five military officers of high rank to act as recruiting officers and some non-official Indians generally of the land-holding class.

The reason for the success achieved by this method was explained by a Provincial Governor in the following way:

"The system of district administration in British India linking the Government at the top with the village community as the revenue-paying and administrative unit at the bottom through a well-defined

official gradation, lends itself admirably as an organisation for mobilising the war resources of the Indian Empire."

The two principal tasks of these Provincial Boards were to popularize the army among those who had either been kept or shut out of it in the past and to estimate the amount of man power which each Province as a whole and each district might reasonably be expected to contribute. This was the first attempt to adjust the burden of the War as equitably as possible. For the time being, at any rate, the sharp line of demarcation between the martial and the non-martial sections of India's population was obliterated and the results, according to the army authorities, were quite satisfactory.

These Provincial Boards worked through Recruiting Boards which were created in each district. These had the chief executive officer of the district as the President, a few leading officials, Indian and non-Indian, and a number of local men of influence, all Indians, as members. It was in the District Recruiting Board that the real work was done for its duty lay in "distributing and raising the quota proposed for the district."

The nature of the work done by these District Recruiting Boards was described in the following way by a European member of the Central Recruiting Board:-

"After a thorough investigation by local experts, each district, each sub-division, each *zail* or circle of villages, and each village, having regard to its male population of military age, the number of men already in the army and its military traditions, was told what further number it was expected to provide."

There was no escape, for the association of the Land Revenue Department with the Recruiting Board brought in the whole revenue staff into the organisation. The up-to-date records of this department gave detailed information with regard to the number of men paying land revenue, and the resident subordinate staff and the village headmen, anxious to stand well with officialdom, were there to supply complete lists of men of military age. Once reliable information on this matter was available, it was no longer difficult to secure the necessary number of recruits.

From what has appeared above, it is clear that if economic distress played an important part in bringing men into the army, it is equally true that when the war was making abnormal demands

on India's man power, the authorities succeeded in creating a very efficient organisation for its mobilisation.

The Recruiting Agency in Actual Operation

It has been maintained that the authorities had taken every step humanly possible for ensuring that no compulsion should be exercised on the people. Somehow, even after the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, the impression lingers in Indian minds that the holding out of pecuniary attractions and the efficient organisation of the agency for recruitment do not constitute a complete and satisfactory explanation of large scale recruitment, that frequently use was made, not in every case capable of proof, of questionable methods by non-official workers and the subordinate Government staff with occasionally the knowledge and acquicescence of British officials.

It is a fact that though the need for men was great, the Government of India as well as the different Provincial Governments gave very clearly worded instructions that, in the language of one of the circulars issued, "while no legitimate form of appeal should be neglected, there was to be nothing savouring of coercion or compulsion." The reason for such a caution was given in the following terms:

"The warnings were necessary to prevent the zeal of subordinate Indian officials from outrunning their discretion and to check the ardour of non-officials who, believing that the bringing in of recruits would be a means of acquiring merit in official quarters, were not likely to be overscupulous as to the methods by which the recruits were obtained."

Unfortunately, the subordinate Government staff with their direct contact with the villagers were tempted and fell. Under the authority of the Central, the Provincial and the District Recruiting Committees, these people had been given an opportunity of proving their efficiency by the number of recruits brought in and, as anticipated, they did not always use their position and influence wisely. Some also among the more zealous non-official Indians endeavoured to show their loyalty in the same way. Nor did some among these people fail to pay off old scores by indenting for recruits from the families of those against whom they had a grudge. It has also been suggested that in many cases exemption from recruitment was secured by bribery.

It is not the view of the present writer that the far from desirable methods referred to just now found very wide application. All that is sought to be emphasised is that the agency for India-wide recruitment had been organised in such a manner that while the results aimed at were sure to come, it was likely to lend itself to abuse by unscrupulous men vested with temporary authority and that in many parts of India such misuse of authority did occur.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in his memoirs ("India As I Knew It") as well as in various pronouncements he made on this matter after his retirement in 1920, vehemently denied the application of high pressure methods of recruitment in the Punjab. As against this, we have the admission of Mr. M. S. Leigh, O.B.E., I.C.S., who, on page 43 of his "Punjab and the War" written under the authority of the Punjab Government and published four years after the Armistice, that is, in 1922, has said:

"Here and there a subordinate would allow his zeal to outrun his discretion, and attempt 'press-gang' methods.

"As a reaction against these, the purchase of medical certificates of unfitness, and even self-mutilation, were not unknown.

"It is quite certain that a very small proportion of the Punjab's recruits was gained by such methods."

On page 28 of the same book, Mr. Leigh has also said:

There were a few districts in which the news that a Government officer was coming sufficed to empty the villages within a five mile radius!

"In most districts there were certain classes or tribes which fought shy of the army; enthusiastic officials were apt, after appealing in vain to their better feelings, to fall back upon the sense of shame; sometimes this was effective, but much more often it only evoked resentment."

The reader will now be told how the resentment referred to by Mr. Leigh manifested itself. While many by reason of their poverty and illiteracy had to submit to pressure and were dragged unwillingly into the army, the bolder spirits tried to offer organised opposition. Referring to such people, Mr. Leigh, on page 24 of his book, says:

"A few specially truculent persons would organise a 'no recruiting' league, and bring pressure to bear on their neighbours to prevent them from enlisting; this would naturally call for the issue of warrants under the Defence of India Act; forcible resistance would

be offered to the police officer sent to serve the warrants ; a riot would ensue and the police, reinforced by reserves and by villagers from the neighbourhood, would ultimately arrest the rioter. Generally, the offenders and their dupes would then admit themselves in the wrong and escape the consequence of their actions by flocking to the recruiting office."

It will be noticed that in the quotations appearing above, no attempt has been made to distinguish between the members of the so-called "martial" and "non-martial" castes and tribes, from which the only inference one can draw is that the recalcitrancy referred to was noticed among certain sections of all classes of peeple.

Another matter to which reference has to be made is that pressure was not applied in the Punjab only. G. T. Garratt, who served as an I.C.S. in Western India from 1913 to 1923, in his "Indian Commentary," has said that "the methods employed in enlisting men for the Army and the Labour Corps often savoured of the press-gang."

The attempt to distribute evenly the burden of the War, so far as the mobilisation of man power was concerned over all areas, had the very natural effect of compelling the authorities to enlist men from the so-called non-martial groups. The very simple reason for the change in the policy hitherto followed was that, by the end of 1916, recruits had been taken from the martial races to the extent that even in the Punjab, in the language of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, "the man power of some districts was showing signs of exhaustion." This fact is also admitted by Mr. M. S. Leigh who, on page 35 of his "Punjab and the War," has said that "the well-known recruiting grounds of the Punjab were showing signs of exhaustion."

That highly placed member of the Indian Civil Service, no friend to India's political ambitions, who served in Western India and who, after his retirement, preferred to write on Indian problems under the pseudonym of Al Carthill, on page 263 of his well-known book "The Lost Dominion," in dealing with the methods for recruiting members of the non-martial races, said :

"The net of the military organisation was flung very wide, brought up some very strange material. It was discovered that some of the castes which had been supposed to be worthless were really capable of being turned into valuable soldiers, and *there pressure, hardly to be distinguished from compulsion, was freely applied.*" (Italics ours.)

The above quotation reinforces the inference one cannot but draw from the incident mentioned by Mr. G. T. Garratt, Bombay I.C.S., to which reference has been made elsewhere.

Any doubts which may still linger as to the adoption of high pressure methods of recruitment, the resentment to which they gave rise and the form the resentment took will be removed by the following quotation from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's account of the War effort of the Punjab which appears in his memoirs, "India As I Knew It," published in 1925, five years after his retirement. While dealing with the working of the Recruiting Committees organised all over India under the Central Recruiting Board and which sought to draw men into the army from every social, religious and economic group, he says, "It was in attempting thus to equalise the burden, that riots and disturbances arose in three or four out of the twenty-eight districts in the last year of the war. There were not more than a dozen serious cases in the Punjab, and similar disturbances occurred in many other Provinces."

The reader is asked to notice the implications of the admission made in the latter part of the last sentence which certainly prove that the application of pressure was on a wide scale and that it led to disturbances in widely separated provinces of India.

In this connection we should not forget that as Government had to work through agents, not all of whom could possibly be perfect, and, moreover, as the exigencies of the situation would brook no denial or delay, there were departures from the ideal standard set up by it.

It has to be emphasised again that it is not the view of the present writer that such aberrations were to be found in each and every centre of recruitment. His contention is that it is unreasonable not to admit that there were abuses when reports, sometimes correct, at other times exaggerated and occasionally even totally inaccurate, spread from one side of India to another and gave rise to infinite mischief specially among the less educated and less informed members of the public. To maintain that all the reports current at the time were baseless is deliberately to shut one's eyes to facts which stare one in the face.

The reader knows already that the Indian soldiers who fought in Mesopotamia had been transferred there from the Western front and that the wastage caused by disease and casualties had been made good by fresh drafts from India. Some at any rate of the recruits

had been enlisted through the methods referred to previously and they could not be expected to relish the position in which they found themselves. The discriminative treatment to which Indian soldiers were subjected and which will be dealt with hereafter and the soreness over the Khilafat question added to their resentment.

Dr. Edward Thompson who went to Mesopotamia has given us, on page 118 of his "Reconstruction of India," his impressions of the attitude of Indian soldiers in the following terms:

"The British who fought in Mesopotamia somehow got the impression that a proportion of the Indians who fought beside them were unwilling heroes. This impression was a sore point with the officers of Indian regiments. . . . The Indian record in the field was a very glorious one. Nevertheless, I suppose no one who was in Mesopotamia has the slightest doubt that a good many of the Indian troops had come there against their wishes, and stayed there sullenly. This was especially true after 1916."

The above opinion, which we have no reason to regard as either a mistaken or an exaggerated one, is sufficient to prove the existence of discontent among Indian soldiers. It will be shown later on that this did not disappear with the end of the War and that on their return to India the soldiers, probably without meaning to do so in every case, served as centres for its dissemination.

Objectionable Recruitment Methods

An attempt will now be made to give the reader some typical instances of the ways in which pressure was used to stimulate recruitment and the results to which they led. The Naib Tahsildar, a subordinate civil officer, of village Leihia in the district of Muzaffargarh in the Punjab, who had been over-zealous in his recruitment campaign, was besieged by an angry mob in his house. His orderly and the rural policeman were assaulted. For this offence, fifty-two people were sent up for trial. An appeal made before the Sessions Judge, Mr. Coldstream by name, led to the acquittal of some and the reduction of sentences in the case of others. The following observations which are on record occur in his judgment.

"The people had real grievances for which they wanted to find expression." It was said further, "It is a matter of common knowledge that the efforts of the subordinate officials in Muzaffargarh

to raise the War Loan and to find recruits, owing to the methods adopted by Zaildars and Lambardars on whom pressure was brought to help in the matter, led to severe frictions in many places. It must be admitted too that these methods were frequently unauthorized, objectionable, oppressive and opposed to the intentions of the Government. In remote tracts, they were found intolerable by the people. These acts could not, of course, be proved by the prosecution and it would be absurd to expect proof of them to be adduced in defence in a case of the present kind. It is necessary in the cause of justice to make this clear, even if in doing so, I have to get outside the judicial record. The facts I have stated are, as I have said before, matters of common knowledge."

In the district of Shahpur also in the Punjab, Syed Nadir Hussain, a Tahsildar, who had been very oppressive was murdered. Forty-six men were sent up for trial. Altogether twenty were acquitted. Among the rest, four were sentenced to death, twelve to transportation for life, and the others to various less severe punishments. The Special Tribunal set up for this trial in its judgment said that while the reputation of the murdered man was unstained by any discreditable conduct, it had to be admitted "that his methods of recruitment amounted almost to conscription."

It was brought out in the evidence that the man in question had become such a terror that the Zemindars (Punjabi for peasantry) ran away on his approach, that when men refused to enlist, he made them stand naked in the presence of their women-folk and "confined them within thorny bushes."

On the 1st of January, 1915, Multan District had sent only 39 men to the Indian Army. In other words, six months after the War had started, there was only one man out of every 1,172 of its male population in the army. By the end of December, 1917, there was one in every 586 and by the end of November, 1918, one in every 93 of the male population in the army.

This increase in the figures for recruitment cannot be explained as due to extreme poverty for, as shown elsewhere, Multan, a district with good irrigation facilities, is prosperous and not over-populated. Neither is there any proof that the agriculturists of this district from whom the rank and file were drawn were more loyal than the inhabitants of other parts of the Punjab.

That it was pressure and nothing else which was responsible for this increase is proved by the following observation made by the Commissioner of Multan, an Englishman. He is reported to have said,

"Objectionable methods of coercion were resorted to by some headmen with the result that in some cases public tranquillity was disturbed."

The reader is asked to note that in this case the headmen of certain villages, desirous of standing well with the authorities, had been guilty of the application of pressure. The present writer has given elsewhere his explanation for the zeal of such men to which the attention of the reader is drawn.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that all the compulsion emanated from Indian officials only. In Gujranwala district, there was only one man in every 300 of the total male population in the army in January, 1915, and one man in every 150 of the total male population in August, 1917, whereas next year there was one man in every 44 of the total male population and one in every 14 men of military age. At a Durbar held in August, 1918, Sir Michael O'Dwyer who was presiding said, "This is a triumphant instance of successful organisation, mainly due to the untiring activities of your admirable District War League under the inspiring and energetic guidance of your Deputy Commissioner, Colonel O'Brien and his assistants, and backed up by the Divisional Recruiting Officer, Major Barnes, and his recruiting staff."

It should be added here that the same Deputy Commissioner, Colonel O'Brien, was responsible for those very objectionable steps taken under martial law of which a short account will be given elsewhere. No wonder there was such deep discontent that, later on, it manifested itself in lawlessness.

It is also on record that in Karnal district, also in the Punjab, a number of boys were induced to offer themselves for recruitment. The father of one of these boys applied to the civil officer in charge of recruitment not to take away his only son. There was a scuffle when his application was rejected and some of those guilty of it were put up for trial among whom five were convicted. Their conviction was set aside by the appelate court. From the judgment, it appears that the lower court had rejected the petition for exemption under instructions from the English District Magistrate. The extract from

this judgment quoted below throws a lurid light on the countenance lent by some at least of the higher English officials to these methods which amounted practically to conscription:

"The various orders passed by the District Magistrate from time to time clearly show that if these appelants had also supplied recruits from among their near relations or if they were fit for enlistment themselves, they would have been let off, provided twenty recruits were made up from the village as was originally demanded from it."

The present writer has dwelt at some length on the recruitment methods adopted in the Punjab in order to show the real reasons for its so-called splendid war effort on which its Leiutenant-Governor had taken so much pride. It would, however, be a mistake to presume that these methods found no place in the recruitment policy in other provinces.

What actually happened during this period of stress was to fix a quota for each province, and for the authorities of the province itself "to indent on each district and village for the number of recruits that it was considered it ought to produce and then leave it to the local officials to see that the compliment was forthcoming." (B. G. Horniman, "Amritsar: Our Duty to India," p. 24).

No one can deny that such rough and ready methods to ensure the recruitment of a certain number of men from each and every locality without any reference to the prevailing local conditions must lead to the adoption of questionable means to meet military requirements.

The following instance of the way in which, not always, but occasionally, the quota was made up is taken from "An Indian Commentary," p. 143, by Mr. G. T. Garratt. It should be added here that Mr. Garratt joined the Indian Civil Service in 1913 retiring in 1923, that he served in the Indian cavalry in the last War and that with Dr. Edward Thompson of the Oxford University he was the joint author of that standard work on Indian history "The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India." He has always been regarded as an authority on Indian affairs. He was killed in action in April, 1942, at the age of 54. He says,

"The writer remembers the court-martial of a young Mahratta boy for deserting his regiment which was stationed in North India. He pleaded, apparently quite truthfully, that he had never intended to join the army, but had gone to the railway station with his mother who was travelling by train. As he stood on the platform, waving to

her, a recruiting party at the back of the train picked him up by the shoulders, pulled him into a carriage, and took him over a thousand miles to their regiment."

In the instance just quoted, ever-zealous soldiers were guilty of press-gang methods in order to get a young lad into the army. Reference will now be made to another instance where the zeal of a petty official, a collector of revenue, led to much more tragic results. The case reported in the papers of Bombay was as follows. This man sent out summons on printed forms under the "Recruiting Act," a piece of legislation which had no existence except in his over-clever brain and men were made to join the army compulsorily. For nearly two years, the people put up patiently with his oppression. Its limit was reached when he seized the assistant priests of a temple which enjoyed a local reputation for sanctity, had their heads forcibly shaved so that they might not have the characteristic tuft of hair on their heads which would betray their calling and arranged to make them over to the recruiting officer. An angry mob surrounded his house and after allowing the members of his family to escape, burnt it down with him inside it. The people concerned in this cruel act of revenge were punished severely but surely the provocation was there.

A detailed account of this unhappy incident will be found in B. G. Horniman's "Amritsar: Our Duty to India." Like the other instances referred to previously, this one also proves how objectionable in character were the methods adopted by certain people in areas where no ventilation of grievances was possible.

Incidents such as those mentioned above cannot be regarded as out of the common for at least every Indian is aware that for one such case which finds publicity, there are scores, if not hundreds, which remain unreported.

It is perhaps needless to add that the adoption of methods such as those referred to privously caused great bitterness not only in the Punjab or in Western India but in every part of our motherland where they were put into operation. We have the evidence of many British officials holding high positions in the civil administration as well as in the army that desertions after recruitment were common and that there were riots in those areas where sufficient tact and discretion had not been exercised in recruiting men. The masses were stirred when they saw the best and the strongest among them

whisked away from before their eyes and found themselves quite unable to prevent it.

Subsequent events proved beyond any doubt that if the object of Government had been to seriously impair those feelings of loyalty and affection to which eloquent expression had been given by such Moderate leaders as Surendra Nath Banerjea, Bhupendra Nath Basu and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, the whole policy adopted and given effect to with regard to the mobilisation of man-power could not have been better devised for the purpose.

Discontent gathered strength and grew in volume till nearly all the progressive elements in India were affected but it continued to simmer for the time being. We shall presently see how this discontent was increased still more when the soldiers, wounded or otherwise, returned to India.

The Question of Discrimination

From what has appeared previously, it is clear that if certain sections of the Indian Army had joined the colours voluntarily, there were also in it numbers, whether large or small no one can say definitely, who had been dragged into it in spite of their unwillingness. It is also equally evident that it was only natural for such men to entertain bitter feelings against an administration which, rightly or wrongly, they held responsible for their presence in the army.

Things would not, however, have been so very bad if there had been scandals at the time of recruitment only. The attention of recruits in new surroundings and in a new atmosphere would have been diverted to other and probably more interesting matters and they would have ceased in time to brood over their grievances, real or imaginery. The money sent home by them for the support of their relatives would have been such a welcome addition to the slender means of the family that they too would, in time, have reconciled themselves to the absence of one of their near and dear ones. Most unfortunately, here too there were certain difficulties which added to the bitterness with which some at any rate among the Indian soldiers were filled when they were taken into the army.

Indian soldiers who fought shoulder to shoulder with troops coming from Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions acquitted themselves creditably. The prestige acquired and the experience

gathered added to their stature and, serving the Empire as they did with their lives, they resented keenly discriminative treatment which, it is said, was shown as between them and their non-Indian comrades. It is quite possible that such tales were exaggerated but credence was lent to them principally because of the way in which Indians, even during the War, were treated in South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Kenya and other parts of the British Empire.

It is regrettable that an attempt to deny the existence of any kind of discriminative treatment has been made from more than one quarter and it has been said that no such thing ever happened. The following incident narrated in detail by Captain F. Percy Roe on page 156 of his "How is the Empire?" is referred to merely to prove the incorrectness of such statements.

An Indian of high rank and position in his own country who had graduated in the engineering faculty of an English University just when the War broke out in 1914, offered his engineering knowledge to the country in which he had received his special training mainly through a sense of gratitude. He applied for a commission in the Corps of Royal Engineers, stating that if this was not feasible he would be "proud to be allowed to enlist in the ranks of the same Corps." His application was rejected only because he was not a born Briton. Naturally enough, he concluded that there was a stigma attached to his colour. Nor was it unnatural for him to swing from a passionate desire to serve to an equally deep-seated distrust of Britain's sincerity when her statesmen and politicians talked to India about sharing the Empire's burden as partners in it and inferentially as entitled to equal rights and privileges.

The reader is asked to remember that if such discrimination could be shown to an educated, cultured and qualified Indian, it is not unnatural to conclude that similar tactlessness also manifested itself towards the Indian rank and file and the Indian officers, none of whom, shut out as they were from King's commissions, occupied high positions, in France and Flanders and had identical effects.

The feelings of irritation referred to above were aggravated by memories of what have been called the *Komagata Maru* incident of September, and the *Tosa Maru* affair of October, 1914, which had caused widespread indignation in India. It has to be stated in this connection that practically all the people involved in these two affairs were Sikhs. The result was that the members of the second fighting

arm of the Punjab, the Sikhs, were antagonised and these too carried to their brethren in faith scattered over the Punjab, accounts of the injustice to which they believed they had been subjected, at the instance of the British Government.

Grievances of the Returning Soldiery

As the War continued, many soldiers died in the various fronts but more returned, shattered in mind and body, specially from Europe where they had rendered the invaluable service of providing a stop-gap at a time when Britain was recruiting and training her own army. In the view of India and probably also in the view of a majority in England, it would have been the rankest ingratitude to forget the valour of Indian soldiers who were laying down their lives thousands of miles away from their homes and in a quarrel into which India had been dragged only because her fortunes were linked to those of Great Britain.

After Flanders came Mesopotamia with its disasters in which the medical and commissariat arrangements collapsed in the most unexpected of ways and led to the appointment of a commission. The report submitted by it was of such a damaging nature as to lead to the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain and to scepticism as regards the claim of efficiency advanced by the British administration so loudly and so often. The leadership in this campaign too was open to criticism and soldiers returning from this front had much to say of the wounded left to die by Arab hands, of the boats full of the dead and wounded with the accumulated filth of days covering them from stem to stern.

A stream of wounded soldiers, dazed with unbelievable sufferings which could at least have been relieved partially if only the arrangements were ordinarily efficient, poured into India between November, 1915, and September, 1916. These belonged to all parts of India and when they returned to their homes and related their experiences, they must have told many a story of inadequacy in their food supply if not of actual starvation, of the lack of medical attendance, of the prevalence of preventible diseases and of absolute failure of leadership.

The thousands of Indian soldiers broken in mind and body who returned home during the War from the different fronts found non-

Indian and Indian officials as well as leaders of their own race having recourse to all sorts of methods, questionable and otherwise, in order to induce the flower of their youth to go out in larger numbers than ever before to earn glory and incidentally money which, in their view, most of them would not be able to enjoy. They could excuse the officials, Indian or non-Indian, for it was clearly their duty to conduct propaganda under Government orders. But so far as their own countrymen were concerned, they knew that they were utterly ignorant of the conditions under which men of their race and blood had laid down their lives for what some at any rate among them considered an inconsiderate, if not an ungrateful Government. Under these circumstances, many among them felt it their duty to tell the story as it appeared to them but the telling was always in whispers for the ever present menace of the Defence of India Act was before them to act as a deterrent.

And yet, recruitment in large numbers went on which again is another proof that it was poverty which rendered this a possibility along with the adoption, in some areas, of methods not always above criticism and which may be inferred though not always capable of proof. It has been suggested by some far from charitable critics that Government was compelled to offer the additional pecuniary inducements to which reference has been made previously, first in January and then in June, 1917, in order to counter the effects of the tales carried to remote areas of India by these wounded and broken soldiers.

After the War, large numbers of Indian sepoys had to be demobilised. Many of them were disappointed as regards the very high hopes they had entertained, perhaps wrongly, of remunerative employment after their reverson to civil life. It was of course impossible for Government to create openings for such large numbers, a fact which most of them failed to appreciate. These disgruntled men, drawn from every part of India, did not fail to give expression to their feelings of discontent among their friends and relatives and this spread dissatisfaction all through our rural areas.

As for those disabled soldiers who returned to India directly from France, they had many a tale to tell of the war in Europe and of the difficulty which was experienced in stemming the almost irresistible rush of the German army towards Paris. This seriously impaired the reputation for invincibility which had hitherto constituted such a bulwork to British dominance in India. They told

stories too of the prosperous French peasantry and explained it as being largely due to the great care their Government took of its agricultural population and instituted comparisons, not always favourable, with the condition of the peasantry of India which they, naturally enough, ascribed to the indifference of the British administration to the welfare of the Indian masses.

It is not contended, even for a moment, that opinions of this type were justified by facts but there can be no doubt that ignorant as they were, they could not be expected to be aware of the difficulties peculiar to India which stood in the way of making progress in anything like an appreciable extent and that their views based on insufficient or even incorrect evidence increased the discontent which had already made its appearance on account of various reasons referred to elsewhere in even the most remote and out of the way corners of India.

There was another factor which has been very rarely referred to. It has been said that in the Mesopotamian campaign, a number of Indian soldiers who fought alongside of the British had little heart to do so. It may be that this was true of Muslim soldiers who, in this front, had to fight against the Turks, their co-religionists. Official records go to show that in Sannaiyat and elsewhere in this front, the Turks "set in their front lines Mullahs whose voices rang across the narrow No Man's Land, reproaching the Mohammadans opposite." Naturally enough efforts and highly successful efforts too, were made to shoot these Mullahs down but the death of even these declared enemies left such a bad effect on the minds of the more impressionable and fanatic among the Indian Muslim troops that, to quote this source again, "desertions were frequent, so were executions—accepted then with callous indifference, as the kind of thing that happened in war."

While these incidents affected the Muslim soldiers directly, it cannot be denied that as those executed on justifiable military grounds were Indians, they were the recipients of sympathy from their non-Muslim comrades. While admitting in their heart of hearts that the punishment inflicted was well-deserved, many, if not all of them, insensibly came to have less and less relish for the work in which they were engaged. This attitude naturally enough called forth comments, not always couched in discreet language, with regard to their apparent loss of enthusiasm which was occasionally explained

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as due to lack of courage—the most serious charge which can be brought against the soldier.

This lack of comprehension displayed by their non-Indian comrades and officers had its natural reaction in embittering them. These feelings of bitterness found expression when they returned home and told their people that the behaviour complained of was really due to lack of consideration if not of gratitude on the part of the British.

All these facts and the inferences drawn from them are laid before the reader to prove that the soldiers who returned to their native land either during or after the War and who were drawn from every part of India became centres from which discontent spread in ever-widening circles.

Mr. H. H. Hyndman is the author of a book entitled "The Awakening of Asia" published early in 1919. In the last three chapters, he has given his impressions of the way in which Britain has administered our motherland. He tells us in the preface that his book had been "held up by the censor for more than two years" from which one infers that his manuscript had been ready for the press late in 1916. Obviously, the actual writing of what follows must have been done earlier, probably when the Indian Expeditionary Force was in France and before it left for the Near East.

Bearing all these facts in our mind, the following quotation from page 217 of his book in which Mr. Hyndman gives his readers his ideas as to what were likely to be the effects of Indian, British and Dominion soldiers fighting side by side are worth remembering for subsequent facts proved how correct had been his forecast.

"As to the (Indian) people, the War will influence them too. Their men were fighting side by side with Europeans in Europe, on equal terms but for very inferior rates of pay. When they get back to India and return to their villages, they will do much to destroy the illusion that white troops must always, and under all circumstances, be superior to coloured men. Moreover, the sense of injustice and bad faith under which they suffer will be communicated to all their kinsfolk.....On matters of this personal nature, Hindoo and Moslem, Sikh, Pathan, Hyderabadi and Mahratta will all be of one mind even if their particular section has not been serving on the foreign battle fields."

It is suggested that, in these few lines, Mr. Hyndman has supplied some very cogent reasons for the dissatisfaction of Indian soldiers

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and the part it played in winning the support of the masses in the Non-Co-operation Movement—unity flowing from injustice and sufferings endured in common.

Testimony to the fact that the War did not leave the army untouched is borne by Captain F. Percy Roe of the Army Educational Corps who on page 157 of his "How is the British Empire?" tells his readers that,

"By the end of the Great War, soon called by Indians the 'European Civil War,'..... even the robust unquestioning loyalty of the best of the Indian military castes maintained though it was and still is as unstained as ever, was constrained to feel that by the pureness and continuity of its flame it was entitled to something more than a sentence of perpetual dependence."

The view that the Indian soldiers after the experience they had acquired when they were sent outside India would tend to look at things from a new angle was also given expression to in guarded language in para. 146 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which said, "The minds of India's peasant-soldiery who have returned from abroad will never again work quite in the old way." While the authors of the Report have nothing to say as to what changes in their outlook had resulted from what they had observed, it is clear that discontent with the existing system was bound to be one of them.

Opinions such as these coming from responsible quarters are sufficient proof that the Indian soldier after he had forgotten everything about the way in which he had been recruited and discriminated against, resented the inferior position he was occupying as a citizen. As one who loved to maintain his connection with his friends and relatives in rural India to which he expected to return after his period of service, he felt dissatisfied with what Government had done for them, for his mental horizon has been enlarged by his campaigns in the West. All these factors were responsible for the appearance of bitterness in the Indian section of the Indian Army.

TAX RELIEF AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN BRITISH INDIA

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[Saving and Investment—the Magnitude of the Corporate Saving in Great Britain and the U.S.A.—Estimated Corporate Saving in India—Corporate Saving and Business Expansion in India—Growth of Industry in the U.S.A. and Corporate Saving—the undistributed profits tax in India and Great Britain—the proposal for the establishment of *special development funds* by business corporations in India exempt from taxation—comparative study of taxation of Corporations in India and Great Britain—the Indian Super-tax on Companies, 1919—the Corporation tax in India, 1920—the justification for its levy in India examined—undeveloped country and Corporation tax—Amortisation and Corporation tax—the Corporation tax in the U.S.A.—the need for the abolition of the Corporation tax and the modification of the undistributed profits tax in India—objections considered—loss of revenue—corporate saving and 'discipline' of the capital market—how far corporate saving injurious to consumption goods industries—an examination of the alternative policy of limiting dividends of joint-stock companies.]

SPEAKING broadly, the stream of national saving is fed from two different sources—saving from individuals and that from corporate bodies, such as joint-stock companies out of profits which are credited to the reserve fund. While saving from individuals has received more than its due share of attention since the days of the classical economists, that from corporate bodies has not been considered worthy of notice until recently. It is, therefore, worth while focussing attention on corporate saving in British India in regard to the part such accumulation plays in the investment and capital market. How far is it desirable and practicable to stimulate this saving by a judicious modification of taxes that tend to retard its growth? The subject has in recent years attracted the attention of American economists and businessmen and conflicting opinions have been expressed on the soundness of the policy of stimulating these capital accretions. It appears, however, that the significance of this policy has been overlooked in India. In this country the investors obtain little or no guidance as regards investments. The assistance that is available in urban areas is not of that 'directing kind' which is offered to public in other lands. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to direct our attention to institutional investments, namely, those made by business corporations

out of undistributed profits. In the 19th century economists and public men in Europe and America were constantly preoccupied with consideration of measures for increasing the capital supply of the community. Schemes for social amelioration, those for raising wages and all taxation measures were scrutinised with a view to finding their effect on capital formation. The business corporation has now to a large extent taken up the function of providing capital and of using it, and a study of taxation laws in the light of the influence they exercise on institutional thrift acquires, therefore, a new significance. It is also noteworthy that in the growing volume of recent literature on trade cycle we find increasing emphasis laid on the disparity between saving of all kinds—individual and institutional—and the act of investment. The trade cycle theory associated with the name of Keynes suggests a disparity between saving and investment as the dominant cause of industrial fluctuations. There is a minimum rate, according to Keynes, below which the rate of interest cannot fall unless determined action is taken by the State. At this minimum rate saving is not deflected towards consumption, but continues to accumulate because of certain psychological propensities. But if the marginal efficiency of capital falls below the minimum rate of interest, the saving of the community finds no outlet in investment. At such a stage the State should intervene. Several methods of intervention are suggested in this connection, *e.g.*, (1) the maintenance of the rate of interest below the marginal efficiency of capital, (2) redistribution of income with a view to increasing the propensity to consume and lastly, social control of investment. Leaving out of consideration the first two remedies, it appears that if full employment is the goal to which all monetary and financial policies should be directed, it becomes necessary for the State to increase and supplement the inducement to invest.

Perhaps an added interest arises from the importance of group activity in modern economic life. Between the individual and the State there lie groups of individuals formed for attaining certain economic ends, and prominent economists[1] have put forward the suggestion that in group activity of all kinds may possibily be found the ideal size for the unit of production, control and organisation. The rationalised industry is now regarded as a suitable industrial unit

[1] *Cf.* Keynes, *The End of Laissez Faire.*

for promoting stability and economy in production. For the purpose of promoting export trade the U.S.A. found the organised group of producers more effective than individual producers whose resources must necessarily be limited. The federated marketing organisations of America and Denmark are powerful instruments for effecting a ready adjustment between the demand for and the supply of agricultural commodities. It is not unlikely that in the near future corporate saving might play the same important part in the investment market as the corporate form of business has done in regard to ownership, organisation and control.

The Magnitude of Corporate Saving in Great Britain and the U.S.A.

Recent studies have shown that corporate saving forms an important portion of the total national saving in a community. Quantitative studies of the magnitude of such saving have been made with regard to Germany by the Institut fur Konjunktur forschung and for Great Britain by the Colwyn Committee.[1] The Colwyn Committee estimated that in 1923 out of a total annual saving of £500 million in Great Britain, Company reserves amounted to about £217 million. Figures for later years have been worked out by Colin Clark.[2] These agree very closely with those given by the Colwyn Committee.

In the U.S.A. Professor Frederick C. Mills estimated the accumulated corporated saving in 1929 at $ 88.8 billion compared to $ 28.6 billion for saving deposits, $ 14.2 billion for aggregate reserves of life insurance companies and $ 8.3 billion of assets of building and loan associations.

Estimates regarding the magnitude of such saving in India have not been made. But an examination of the assets of one or two important industries of India will show that such reserves are not negligible. In 1938 in the cotton textile industry, sixty joint-stock concerns with a paid-up share capital of Rs. 19.5 crores had a reserve of Rs. 8.7 crores. In the jute industry the reserves amounted to Rs. 9.9 crores which were held by sixty concerns with a paid up share capital

[1] Report, pp. 17-18.
[2] Colin Clark, *National Income and Outlay* (1937), p. 187.

of Rs. 20 crores.[1] For our present purpose, however, we are concerned not so much with the aggregate reserves at any given moment, but with the proportion of the annual profits that are credited to reserve. Such an estimate, if available, would have enabled us to form an idea of the magnitude of the annual corporate saving accumulated from business profits and to compare it with the saving from individuals invested in corporate enterprise.

If there were any such joint-stock company as a Representative Corporation, it would have been easy to take the financial position of such a concern as representative of the industry as a whole. But the Representative Firm does not exist, except as an imaginary device conceived by analytical economists to get over certain theoretical difficulties. Information about a few selected concerns will also be useless. In the circumstances the only convenient way out will probably be to proceed by the method of sampling. This has no doubt its limitations. But it is the only method which is practicable. The sample investigation which was undertaken in Great Britain showed that undistributed profits annually credited to the reserve represented an average of 20% of the total profits during 1924-29. In the U.S.A. during 1923-29 Corporations which had a positive income retained more than 45% of profits in the reserve. By 1932 when the country was in the grip of the depression the proportion had fallen to 6%.

Estimated Corporate Saving in India

No such sample investigation has yet been undertaken in India. In the absence of any special investigation we may not be far wrong if we take the average of 5% as the proportion of total profits annually credited to the reserve by Indian concerns. The table given below will show the total company profits available for distribution during 1931-35 and also the amount annually credited to the reserve on the assumption indicated above:

Year	Profits of Companies subject to Income tax	Reserve Fund
1931-32 ...	... Rs. 26,44,00,000	... Rs. 1.3 crores
1932-33 ...	... Rs. 23,58,00,000	... Rs. 1.1 ,,
1933-34 ...	... Rs. 20,22,00,000	... Rs. 1.0 ,,
1934-35 ...	... Rs. 24,40,00,000	... Rs. 1.2 ,,

[1] The figures have been compiled from the Investors' Year Book. The estimates relating to the paid-up share capital are approximate and are subject to deductions as many of the figures relating to share capital include also debentures.

On a very modest estimate, therefore, the annual corporate saving from business amounted to at least one crore of rupees. It is interesting to compare this estimate with the annual flow of saving to corporate undertakings in British India.

The following figures will show the number of new joint-stock concerns with their paid-up capital registered in British India during 1931-36:

Year	No. of companies	Paid-up capital in lakhs
1931-32 ...	... 646 ...	... Rs. 17.9
1932-33 ...	... 790 ...	... Rs. 22.0
1933-34 ...	... 845 ...	... Rs. 83.2
1934-35 ...	... 944 ...	... Rs. 41.3
1935-36 ...	... 1026 ...	... Rs. 102.2

It will thus appear that during the years 1931-35 the amount of annual corporate saving as estimated above was higher than the annual flow of individual saving invested in joint-stock enterprise. It is not possible to claim any scientific accuracy for these figures. They can only be regarded as a very distant approach to reality. But these figures relating to undistributed profits, imperfect as they are, serve to emphasise the importance of the fund which is available for development purposes. It is necessary to remember in this connection that the undistributed profits credited to reserve constitute a fund apart from the allowance granted for repairs, renewals and depreciation. The depreciation allowance, which is not subject to income tax, is a fund out of which obsolete and worn out machinery can be replaced. The reserve fund, which is at present subject to income tax, is available for capital investment without incurring debt or raising further capital in the market. There are no doubt other uses to which the fund may be put. It may be utilised for meeting emergencies or for securing liquidity. Company Directors may also be actuated by the desire of making financial provision in excess of user and supplementary cost so as to be in a position to write off the cost of assets ahead of, rather behind, the actual rate of wastage.[1] But all these functions of the reserve fund useful though they are in their own way, should only be regarded as of secondary importance as compared to the main purpose of facilitating development and expansion.

[1] *Cf.* Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, pp. 108-09.

Corporate Saving and Business Expansion in India

The savings of the rich in this country have so long been primarily invested in land. A large amount of loanable fund has also been used for supplying credit to the agriculturists in rural areas. Recent enactments such as those in connection with debt conciliation, control of money-lending, rehabilitation of land tenure and proposals for the levy of an income tax on agricultural incomes have no doubt to some extent counteracted this tendency towards over investment in land and money-lending. But it is well to bear in mind that the effect of these legislative measures has been negative rather than positive. Taken as a whole these measures have merely increased the liquidity preference of savers without stimulating in any marked degree the inclination towards investment in business. (In such circumstances it is not unlikely that company profits credited to reserve, if granted exemption from taxation, might find their way to industries to a much larger extent than profits distributed to shareholders in the form of dividends.) Saving left to individuals takes certain time to find its way to industries owing to friction, force of habit and absence of facilities for investment. Besides, there is no guarantee that such saving will ultimately be used for investment purposes. The collective saving of the business corporation on the other hand is exceedingly mobile from this point of view. In a growing business the saving is just in the place where it is needed and may be used for the purpose of expansion.

Growth of Industry in the U.S.A. and Corporate Saving

Attention may be drawn in this connection to a remarkable statistical study by Carl Snyder covering more than 100 years of the industrial history of the U.S.A.[1] The conclusion at which he arrives is that the prodigious industrial expansion of the U.S.A. has been due mainly to the increased supply of new capital derived almost wholly and directly from saving effected by corporations. It is corporate saving which alone has made possible the increase in real wages and general well-being in the United States of America.

The majority of the people of the U.S.A. do not save much.

[1] Carl Snyder, "Capital Supply and National Well-being," *American Economic Review*, June, 1936.

About 80% of the people spend all that they can get or lose any little sum that they save in disastrous business ventures. What the people do save is largely spent in the construction of houses or invested in life insurance policies and in bonds of industrial concerns. But the proportion of bonds to total working capital is relatively small, except in the case of public utility concerns. "The investing public," says Carl Snyder, "does not as a rule go into new enterprises, and sensibly so; for frequently new enterprises are failures, and only people of wealth can afford considerable losses. Moreover, the amounts that really go into industrial share capital from the outside are obviously small. Even after all the intensive campaigns of distribution of shares in Utility Companies and others in the last ten years, it still remains true that the great bulk of the shares of all dividend-paying corporations, several hundred thousand in number, was in the hands of far less than one per cent. of the population, and probably it has always been so."

A large portion of new capital invested in industries in the U.S.A. has been derived entirely from the saving of the Corporations themselves. The Ford Motor Company was started with an outside total capital of $29,000 of which only half was in cash. During the thirty years that followed its establishment the Company had a gross income of about 12½ billion dollars. Of this about 1% only was distributed to shareholders. The remaining 99% went into wages, materials and working plant. What was true of this company was largely true of other concerns. This is strikingly confirmed by a statistical study which shows that the proportion of net earnings to gross income is more or less constant in normal times. Good and stable Corporations in the U.S.A. have followed the maxim of "a dollar for dividends and a dollar for betterments." As Carl Snyder remarks:

"The returns of the Corporations for tax purposes show that this rule is followed to a considerable degree. Thus, for example, in representative and prosperous years—as from 1923 to 1929—the net amount of dividends paid to individuals tended about to equal the amount set aside by Corporations for improvements and replacements, or carried to surplus account." The conclusion is reached that the rate of net profits to gross remains fairly constant in normal times and that capital supply is derived from these profits and that the total capital invested in any industry grows closely along with the growth of industry itself.

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When the corporate form of business was first introduced in the U.S.A. it was regarded as a beneficent institution. Concessions were heaped upon it. Financial assistance, lease of land, irrevocable franchise were often granted for the benefit of particular industries. It was also laid down that no taxes would be collected until a corporation had been in existence for a number of years, nor even then unless the net income were a certain per cent. of the capital stock. Stimulated by such favours the corporate form of business made striking and uninterrupted progress. Policy, however, changed in the U.S.A. when corporations began to abuse their privilege. It was when unfair practices were resorted to and consumers were exploited that the concessions were curtailed and tax burdens imposed on them. In India the Corporation has never been the recipient of special privileges or concessions. The taxation laws, far from fostering corporate business, have been such as to inflict a heavy burden on all corporations regardless of their age, volume of business, capital or the rate of profits on capital invested.

The Undistributed Profits Tax in India and Great Britain

Ever since 1886 profits credited to the reserve fund of joint-stock companies have been subject to the maximum rate of income tax prevailing for the time being in British India. Starting with a rate of 5 pies in the rupee in 1886, the Government have for years been subjecting such reserves to higher and still higher taxation till the abnormally high level of 30 pies in the rupee was reached in 1939. The history of the intervening year is largely the history of the successive steps by which the rates were steadily raised. In 1916 the maximum rate was 12 pies, in 1921 16 pies, and in 1922 it reached 18 pies in the rupee. Subsequent developments gave an impetus to this upward trend.

In subjecting the undistributed profits of companies to the maximum rate the Government of India have consistently followed British income tax practice. But it is worth noticing that from time to time the voice of protest was raised against this practice in Great Britain, a land by no means handicapped for lack of capital available for business and industrial enterprise. Dr. Hugh Dalton remarked as follows before the Colwyn Committee on National Debt and Taxation:

"I suggest in particular the following reliefs . . . (*c*) a reduction in the rate of the tax on undistributed profits . . . . As regards (*c*) a genuine encouragement to saving would result, though care would need to be taken to prevent fraud through the formation of one man companies, etc."

Keynes also pointed out the economic disadvantage of the prevailing method of taxation of companies in Great Britain. He said:

"Income-tax is specially deterrent to saving in so far as it falls on funds which naturally accumulate at compound interest and where no question of personal expenditure can enter, *e.g.*, the funds of insurance companies and the reserves retained by joint-stock companies to provide further capital against an increase of their business. The latter is increasingly the way by which industry secures additional funds."

Special Development Fund and Tax Relief

A more specific proposal was that made by Sir John Lowes Dickinsion representing the Institute of Chartered Accountants. He was personally in favour of the view that relief should be given in respect of sums put to reserve out of profits. He suggested the creation of a Special Development Account over and above general reserve, this account being represented by additional buildings, plant and machinery; by additional working capital or by additional investments in securities. Securities would have to be included in the Development Account, as it would not always be possible for businesses to apply the fund immediately for development purposes.[1]

These suggestions, however, did not find favour with the Colwyn Committee. Undistributed profits of companies, therefore, continue to be taxed in Great Britain at the standard rate of income tax. India also has been following the same practice since 1886 in disregard of the fact that the tax on undistributed profits has a tendency to rest heavily on struggling joint-stock companies which find their capital by reinvesting a portion of their earnings. It is a matter of common knowledge that great difficulty is experienced by small and medium size industries in India in raising their capital, even when the security offered is sound. Some of these concerns, after making a difficult and hazardous start, are apt to rely on their slender profits for expansion

[1] *Report of the Colwyn Committee*, pp. 346-47.

purposes. A well-known cotton mill in Bengal has for years past been financing its working capital expenditure out of undistributed profits.[1] But the tax on such profits in so far as it is levied at the maximum rate makes a serious inroad on the exiguous profits. It may, therefore, be seriously questioned whether a blind imitation of the English pattern in disregard of the difficulties confronting small and struggling joint-stock concerns is conducive either to stability or to expansion of business. The undistributed profits tax hits the smaller business concerns very hard. These are concerns which are virtually debarred from the capital market because of the expenses involved in new issues. They should, therefore, be encouraged to allocate a portion of their profits for capital purposes.

But the most curious and objectionable feature of the Indian tax system as it affects the corporate form of business is that, apart from the undistributed profits tax, joint-stock concerns have had imposed on them an additional tax known originally as the company super-tax and now called the corporation tax. In this respect there was a material departure from the British practice. The company super-tax was first imposed in India in 1919 and has formed a permanent feature of company taxation since then. For about five years during 1920-24 Great Britain also had imposed a similar tax (the Corporation Profits Duty) on the corporate form of business enterprise. But it was repealed in 1924 as it was considered to be a burdensome impost on business. If we are to be guided in India by British analogies in the matter of taxation let us follow them in all respects. If, however, the Government in this country are disposed to follow those British taxation laws by which the exchequer stands to gain and to discard such British precedents as are advantageous to the Indian taxpayers, the action of the authorities is likely to be misinterpreted. It may be definitely asserted that the Government of this country have often materially deviated from British analogies, specially in those cases where their adoption would have meant a loss of revenue. Let us recall in this connection the advice tendered by Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of the Presidency of Fort St. George, in the sixties of the last century, "If we are to have English budgets for India, let us also have English safeguards."

[1] Dr. S. K. Basu, (*Industrial Finance in India*, p. 159) refers to the difficulties experienced by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mill, Bengal.

SUPER-TAX ON COMPANIES, 1919

It is now necessary for us to refer to the history of the origin and development of the Indian Corporation tax and to examine critically the justification put forward from time to time for the retention of this tax on a particular form of business enterprise. The Indian Corporation tax was first levied in 1919 at rates varying from one anna to three annas in the rupee on profits in excess of Rs. 50,000 a year. It was then called a Company Super-tax and was levied on the undistributed profits of companies. The scale of graduation was as follows:

For every rupee of the first Rs. 50,000 of the excess, *i.e.*, between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 1,00,000/.	...	1 anna in the rupee
For every rupee of the next Rs. 50,000 of the excess, *i.e.*, between Rs. 1,00,000 and Rs. 1,50,000/.	...	1½ annas in the rupee
For every rupee of the next Rs. 50,000 of the excess, *i.e.*, between Rs. 1,50,000 and Rs. 2,00,000/.	...	2 annas in the rupee
For every rupee of the next Rs. 50,000 of the excess, *i.e.*, between Rs. 2,00,000 and Rs. 2,50,000/.	...	2½ annas in the rupee
For every rupee of the next Rs. 50,000 of the excess, *i.e.*, everything over Rs. 2,50, 000/.	...	3 annas in the rupee.

The justification for extending this tax to undistributed company profits was that the Government of India intended to bring under taxation the abnormal profits made by companies as a result of war conditions. The Government, however, realised that such a tax might exercise a prejudicial effect on the growth of industries. Accordingly, provision was made in the statute for the grant of ten per cent. extra allowance, quite apart from depreciation allowance, in order to encourage the investment of capital to industries by allocation of a part of the profits earned in such industries. It is worth while lingering on this aspect of the exemption from taxation in order to emphasise that this was the only instance in the chequered career of income tax in India in which there was a recognition of the

important part played by the company profits in supplying a portion of capital to industries.

Corporation Tax in 1920

The second stage in the development of the Corporation tax was reached in the next year when the tax was modified in important respects. As imposed in 1919 the tax was an additional levy on undistributed profits of companies, the shareholders being separately liable for super-tax in respect of the dividends distributed by companies. In the modified form adopted in 1920 the entire profits of companies in excess of Rs. 50,000 whether distributed or credited to the reserve, were made liable. At the same time graduation was abandoned and ~~and~~ a uniform rate of one anna in the rupee or 6¼% levied on all profits in excess of Rs. 50,000. It was in this form that the tax remained till 1939 when the exemption limit of Rs. 50,000 was abolished, and the levy on companies emerged as a full-fledged Corporation tax. Thus what is now known as the Corporation tax originated as a super-tax on companies levied on war profits, and when this justification ceased to hold good a new one was evolved. It was called a levy on the corporate form of business organisation because of certain privileges enjoyed.

The Justification of the Corporation Tax in India

The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, when called upon to pronounce their verdict in 1925 on this tax, realised that it had no counterpart in the British Isles. For, as has already been pointed out, the Corporation Profits Duty had been abolished in Great Britain in 1924. The Committee remarked:

"The tax has now been abolished in England, partly owing to defects in the Act and to the necessity of relieving the burden on trade, but largely because other means had been devised for dealing with the problem of undistributed dividends. The methods adopted there are not such as could be adopted in this country..."

Little did the Taxation Enquiry Committee imagine that the Government of India would very soon adopt precisely those measures which Great Britain had adopted, measures which the Committee thought could not be adopted in India. For, in 1930 was passed an

important Act the object of which was to bring under the operations of super-tax undistributed profits of certain types of companies in British India.[1] With the adoption of this measure in India one of the principal reasons for a special tax on corporate form of business organisation disappeared. Logically speaking, the Corporation tax should have disappeared from the Indian statute book in 1930 as its British counterpart had disappeared in 1924. In Great Britain action was taken in 1922 with a view to preventing the evasion of super tax by the formation of "One man companies." This was followed by the abolition of the Corporation Profits Duty in 1924. The course of events in India was, however, quite different. Although the Government of India had enacted a measure in 1930 similar to that in Britain for minimising evasion of super-tax, the corporation tax remained on the statute book. Taxes in India are thus characterised by a "stickiness" which is unknown in Great Britain. Inspite of the fact that the principal justification for the levy of the Corporation tax no longer holds good, it has become a permanent feature of the Indian budget.

Undeveloped Country and Corporation Tax

There remains to be considered another argument advanced by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee in favour of the imposition of the Corporation tax. The Committee pointed out that the advantages of limited liability and transferability of shares which incorporation gives to a company had greater value in an undeveloped country such as India. Companies registered in this country should, therefore, be prepared to pay for this benefit. This is an argument the validity of which has not been questioned so far, and there is a tendency to accept it without an examination of its logical foundations. Is it really true that the corporate form of organisation derives special advantages because India is an undeveloped land ? The high rate of mortality prevailing among the joint-stock companies operating in India seems to disprove the contention that such companies derive any special advantage in this country. The following tables will show the total number of company failures in Bengal and the rate of company failures during the period, 1905-1936:

[1] Act XXI of 1930.

COMPANY FAILURES IN BENGAL

During the quinquennium ending	No. of companies liquidated	Paid-up capital Rs. (lakhs)
1905-06	... 60	... 51.1
1910-11	... 111	... 1,05.7
1915-16	... 162	... 1,60.4
1920-21	... 187	... 1,61.6
1925-26	... 414	... 8,83.7
1930-31	... 412	... 7,39.4
1935-36	... 779	... 19,69.7
	2,125	40,71.6

RATE OF COMPANY FAILURES

During the quinquennium ending	Company failures per 100 working	Company failures per 100 registered
1905-06	... 1.5	... 50.0
1910-11	... 17.5	... 37.0
1915-16	... 16.7	... 30.1
1920-21	... 11.1	... 14.7
1925-26	... 14.7	... 40.9
1930 31	... 10.0	... 26.2
1935-36	... 15.8	... 60.2
Average	12.5	37.0

It will perhaps be urged that this high mortality rate has been largely due to incompetence and probably to fraud in a number of cases. Even if these explanations are valid, they can hardly be put forward in support of a policy of levying fresh burdens on the corporate form of business enterprise. Incompetence is hardly curable by taxation, while the remedy for the fraudulent flotation of companies should be sought by methods other than those connected with the imposition of restrictive taxes. A recent analysis has also shown that out of public joint-stock companies which had come into existence in Bengal during the period of five years ending with 1924-25, 52 p.c. had failed to reach the dividend-earning stage. There is, therefore, no valid ground for the position taken up by Taxation Enquiry

to dissipate their income in consumption. If on the other hand profits were credited to the reserve they would be available to assist industries in the difficult period of post-war reconstruction. The Limitation of Dividends Bill was subsequently dropped when the excess profits tax was raised all round to 100 p.c. But the situation in India hardly affords any justification for a policy of limiting dividends. The Indian problem resolves itself into this: Assuming that company reserves are to be stimulated, and that the alternative methods open to us are either the method of tax relief or that of limiting dividends which one of these is likely to prove more suited to India's needs? There can hardly be any doubt that under existing conditions the method of tax relief will immediately give the much needed stimulus for quickening the pace of industrial expansion so vitally necessary for intensifying India's war efforts. The rival policy of limiting dividends on the other hand will at once retard business activity in India. As for its effect in the long run no definite prophecy is possible, for much will depend on other openings available for investment.

The principle of tax-remission as a means of facilitating economic reconstruction after the War has already found a place in the financial system of India. The scheme relating to the refund of a portion of the Excess Profits Duty recently adopted by the Government of India has for its object the strengthening of the position of a limited number of industries after the War. The proposals made in these pages seek to give the principle of tax relief a wider application so that an impetus might be given to all branches of production in the difficult days that lie ahead.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF "ASIA FOR ASIANS"

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

IT is at 1905 that the work entitled *The Political Philosophies Since 1905* commences the world-ideologies in politics. In its two volumes in four parts the work considers 1905 to be the Year I of modern history. 1905 is the year of Japan's victory over Russia, as well as the year of *swadeshi* movement in India, the glorious Bengali revolution. This year registers, in short, the birth of Young Asia.

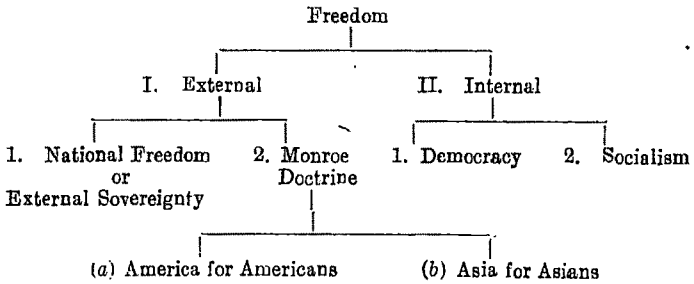
The most objective fact of the last generation in international and inter-racial history is the influence of 1905 and its ideas on mankind in East and West. It is the ideas of 1905[1] that, among other things, have been consummating themselves dose by dose in every walk of life and inch by inch in every region of the world. One of the most important constituents—the greatest single constituent—in the ideology of 1905 is equality between East and West, the subversion of the doctrine of Western or Eur-American superiority, the abolition of the "white man's burthen," white chauvinism or albinocracy. So far as Asia is concerned, this has been furnishing the spiritual *élan de la vie* of millions since then. It has virtually grown to be their sole religion. Eur-Americans in general are not perhaps conscious of the ideas of 1905 as revolutionary forces in the remaking of personality. But a growing section of Western intellectuals, liberal statesmen, democrats, internationalists, socialists and communists has been forced to recognize 1905 as a landmark in world-consummations with special reference to the relations between Asia and Eur-America. The Asian Monroe Doctrine, "Asia or Asians," equality between East and West, racial uniformities, colonial self-determination, etc., are ideas which have influenced Eur-American studies in anthropology, sociology, economics, politics, religion, æsthetics and other social sciences in a

[1] For the "ideas of 1905" see B. K. Sarkar, "The Futurism of Young Asia" (*International Journal of Ethics*, Chicago, July, 1918), available in *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Berlin, 1922, Calcutta, 1939), as well as *Vartiaman Jagat* (Modern World, a Bengali work in thirteen volumes, 1914-35), especially the volumes entitled *Navin Asiar Janmadata* (The Parent of New Asia, Japan) and *Vartiaman Yuge Chin Samrajya* (The Chinese Empire Today).

certain measure.[1] The ideas of 1905 have been slowly but steadily rising to the prestige of the "ideas of 1789" in international philosophy and world-culture.

The methodology of this work is purely analytical. It has been seeking to analyze as objectively as possible in a chronological manner the diverse ideologies in political speculation as prominent in the two hemispheres. The objective analysis of ideologies has throughout been conducted in the perspective of movements in *Realpolitik*. The history of speculation has been exhibited in the *milieu* of the history of activities and events. The analysis of the "ideas of 1905" or of the Asian Monroe Doctrine ("Asia for Asians") is also being carried on objectively as well as chronologically and in the background of factual relations between Asia and Eur-America.

Like freedom, democracy and socialism, the category "Asia for Asians," as an embodiment of the Asian Monroe Doctrine, is an elastic expression. All these categories of interhuman relations are ethical or moral entities. Each one, indeed, is an aspect of freedom, which by its very nature is nothing but moral. These moral categories may be indicated in their mutual relations in the following table:



The inter-relations between nationalism, democracy and socialism as aspects of freedom are the fundamentals with which Vol. II, Part I (pages 1-83) of the present work has started. The categories, neo-democracy and neo-socialism, as well as demo-despotocracy are linked up with them in an organic manner.

[1] Among Eur-American exponents of post-1905 liberalism in different lines of social thinking may be enumerated Barker, Barnes, Becker, Boas, Brailsford, Burns, Coker, De'Stefani, Dewey, Eastman, Gettell, Gini, Goetz, Goldenweiser, Hankins, Haushofer, Hobhouse, Hocking, Homan, Kohn, Laski, Le Clair, Lenin, Lippmann, Lowie, Masson-Oursel, Maunier, Merriam, J. J. Meyer, Moon, Nearing, Parmelee, Piper, Sorokin, Spengler, Toynbee, Tucci, Viton, von Glasenapp, and Wallas—see the Indexes to *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. I. (1928), and Vol. II, Parts I, II, and III. Not all of them take interest in Asia or relations between East and West. Nor are my views to be always taken as identical with theirs. "Liberalism," again, is to be understood in an elastic and relative sense, as a phenomenon of doses and degrees.

In my analysis socialism is intensification of democracy and both are forms of internal freedom, *i.e.*, freedom within the boundaries of a regional group or country. The Monroe Doctrine is but an application of the doctrine of external freedom or national sovereignty as applied to a continental region.

All moral phenomena are somewhat indefinite by nature. Their scope can hardly ever be precisely indicated. Very often it is difficult to be sure of their presence at any particular point of time or agree among persons about their existence in an event. Vagueness is integrally associated with every moral *Gestalt*. Moral relations are, however, by no means unreal because of their indefinite or undefinable contour and vagueness of outline. The indefinitenesses and uncertainties of configuration are but indices to the comprehensiveness and encyclopædic nature of man as a moral agent.

The vagueness of freedom as a moral phenomenon is obvious. For thousands of years mankind has been fighting for freedom. It has not been possible as yet to realize the goal anywhere or to be sure about its nature, foundations or forms. It is only in this sense that the doctrine "Asia for Asians," as an expression of Asian freedom in external relations, *i.e.*, *vis-à-vis* Eur-America is vague and indefinite. Like freedom, again, this doctrine conveys a long-period, secular value. It is a long, lengthy struggle that is envisaged in the consummation of Asian Monroe Doctrine. It can be recognized in a certain aspect in one region and in another aspect in a second region just as freedom (or socialism) is visible in a certain form in one people and in a second form in another. There is no clean-cut, standardized form or precisely presentable pattern which may be distinguished as the Asian Monroe Doctrine. As a value developing itself in time it is marked by gradualness and slow growth. Like every other moral phenomenon it is a matter of doses and degrees.[1] This Asian Monroe Doctrine may often have to be encountered, then, in doses. "Asia for Asians" is a relative phenomenon. It is progressive, and may often be cumulative.

The most conventional or stereotyped forms can be seen in the following equations:

Asia for Asians

= 1. Asian Monroe Doctrine.

= 2. Equality between Asia and Eur-America.

[1] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 5, 32, 54, 72.

= 3. Subversion of Eur-American superiority.
= 4. Abolition of "white man's burthen."
= 5. Annihilation of white "prestige."
= 6. Overthrow of albinocracy.
= 7. Demolition of Western colonialism and imperialism.
= 8. Revolt against Eur-American empires.
= 9. Conquest of Eur-American possessions by Asians.
=10. Asians' right to immigration, settlement and citizenship in "white" lands.

In these equations we encounter diverse aspects of the doctrine in a more or less concrete manner. Evidently not every region or race in Asia is capable of many of the consummations indicated here. Nor does every race or region simultaneously understand all these consummations at any particular moment. Besides, there are certain non-political considerations attached to these aspects, and they add to the ambiguity of the doctrine.

There are, for instance, the economic values. So far as economic relations between Asia and Eur-America are concerned, it is puerile to suggest that the Asian Monroe Doctrine can imply the annihilation of financial, currency, trade and labour relations between Asia and Eur-America. The epoch of world-economy is too much upon every inch of the two hemispheres to enable anybody to dream of such splendid isolation for Asia, Europe, Africa or America. The American Monroe Doctrine does not and cannot function considerably, as is well known, in the economic sphere. The two Americas have need of European capital.

Then there are the spiritual, scientific and cultural values. No interpretation of Asian Monroe Doctrine can ever imply the exclusion of Eur-American arts, letters, languages, sciences, philosophies and so forth from Asia. No American Doctrine for the New Hemisphere has promulgated the boycott of English literature, German technocracy, Russian art, French philosophy, Italian music and so forth from the two Americas. Once in a while Asians talk of boycotting non-Asian languages in their school system and non-Asian literary tendencies in their creative work. These boycott movements are, in so far as they become realities, directed solely against the suppression or strangulation of indigenous languages or literatures by politically dominant languages or literatures of the West. It is in the interest of political

nationalism that such boycotts of Western culture occasionally become categories of public life. But, normally, Asians from one end of the continent to the other are perpetually alive to the need and value of cultivating assimilative acculturation to the creative forces in world culture.[1]

Exclusionism, then, cannot be an item of the configuration "Asia for Asians," in economic activities or cultural achievements. It is in political relations, however, that exclusionism is the supreme reality. "Hands off Asia" is the one political demand that is the common substratum of all the diverse forms of anti-albinocratic exclusionism that pervades the moral and spiritual being of every self-conscious Asian. It is with regard to political exclusionism as a moral attitude of Asians *vis-à-vis* Eur-Americans that ambiguity and uncertainty are to be detected as a matter of course. In one instance, the configuration or *Gestalt* may not imply anything more than a demand of the subject race for a more democratic constitution from the master. A second form may be the demand of an independent but weak state for the removal of imperialistic concessions, privileges, capitulations, etc. On one occasion the demand may be forced by a rising or revolt which, however, proves perhaps abortive. The next occasion may witness the boycott of the master's industrial goods and business establishments by the subject race. This pattern is virtually a revolution for a dependency. One form of "Asia for Asians" may take shape in the crushing defeat of a Western power, large or small, by an Asian power on land, at sea and in the air. Last but not least, the world may exhibit also the military-naval-aerial conquest of Eur-American dominions by a *digvijayi*, *i.e.*, world-conquering Asian people.

Such are the diversities of value associated with the Asian Monroe Doctrine. Each value changes its quality and quantity according to the "conjuncture," *i.e.*, development of circumstances. Very often, the value, economic, cultural or political, is perhaps nothing more serious than just a sentimental expression of the anti-white urges of life. For political science, as an analytical discipline, it should not be reasonable then to accept the doctrine in the singular number as a

[1] B. K. Sarkar, *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (1922, 1939), section on World Forces. See also *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937).

precisely formulated norm of interhuman or rather international and inter-racial relations.

It is obvious enough that not all Asia is subject or semi-subject to Eur-American powers. The political configuration of Asia is not uniform. Asia also has powers, great, medium and small. The Eur-American dependencies or colonies and mandated areas do not constitute the whole of the Asian continent. There are two Asias *de jure*, free and enslaved. The Asian Monroe Doctrine cannot be interpreted by the two Asias in one and the same manner. There is the "Power" view of "Asia for Asians" as there is the "Dependency" view. Among the Asian Powers, again, not each one is powerful enough to dare interpret the Monroe Doctrine in the same way as the others. There is the "great power" thesis, there is the "medium power" thesis, and finally, there is the "small power" thesis. Pious wishes, sentiments, ideals, wishful thinkings, etc., are not to be ignored as political or politics-making forces in international as in national patterns. They are perhaps identical and uniform among all Asians, powerful or powerless. But *Realpolitik* counts very substantially during normal times, and this *Realpolitik* of "Asia for Asians" has, therefore, to be taken in its manifold forms from the most modest to the most radical.

In order to demonstrate the existence of anti-albinocratic tendencies in Asian socio-political thought it is not necessary to show that the category "Asia for Asians," or Asian Monroe Doctrine, has been employed by publicists or scholars in so many words on all occasions. All the same, the phraseology can be traced back to 1905 in almost every country of Asia. The triumph of Japan over Russia is the starting point of all Asian speculations, dreams, ideologies, etc., relating to the removal of white domination from Asia.

The *Realpolitik* of this Asian evolution has implied a corresponding decline in white prestige among the peoples of Asia. In factual politics, pragmatically considered, the last thirty-seven years have witnessed the dose-by-dose decay of Eur-American power in Asia as well as the inch-by-inch withdrawal of white chauvinism from the Asian fronts. The progress of the Asian Monroe Doctrine, as a *fait accompli* of international and inter-racial *Gestalt*, may be envisaged in some of the prominent movements and activities of Asians *vis-à-vis* Eur-America. A few landmarks are being exhibited in the following table which is but a brief chronological statement of the objective history of our own times:

I. 1904-1918

1904-05. Russo-Japanese war. Japan's victories over Russia at Port Arthur and on the Tsushima Sea. The Treaty of Portsmouth.

1905. The First Boycott of British Goods in Bengal (and India). The Bengali Revolution.

1914-18. World-War I.
Turkey is the ally of Germany.
Japan is the ally of England.
Indian nationalists abroad (*e.g.*, U.S.A. and China) and secret societies at home are in alliance with the German Empire.[1]

The fact that Asians are indispensable on both sides of the Armageddon raises them inevitably to the status of factual equality with Eur-Americans, for the time being, at any rate.

1917-18. Soviet Russia (under Lenin) withdraws the concessions and consular guards from Persia, Afghanistan and China. This is a voluntary withdrawal of albinocracy from Asia and is the first of its kind in the history of international relations. The ætiology of Young Asia's interest in Leninistic communism and the Comintern is to be found fundamentally in this epoch-making fact. In Young Asia's estimation Lenin becomes the *avatar* of the twentieth century for the emancipation of subject nationalities.

II. 1919-1938

1920-22. Turkey (under Kemal Pasha) crushes Greece, declares the Treaty of Sèvres null and void and signs the Treaty of Lausanne. This fact is as important in world history as the event of 1905 from the Asian angle of vision.

1920-25. Soviet Russia's *camaraderie* with the representatives of Young Asia in Europe enables them to experience equality and fellowship with the leaders of political and social

[1] Lajpat Rai, *Young India* (New York, 1917); *Rowlatt Committee's Report on Nationalist Activities in India* (Calcutta, 1918); G. N. Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Deevelopment, 1600-1919* (Benares, 1933).

movements of international category in the two hemispheres. International communism serves somewhat to militate against albinocracy and Eur-American chauvinism in inter-human relations on Asia and Africa.

1926. Pan-Asian Congress meets at Nagasaki (Japan). Participants: China, Siam, Korea, Philippines, Japan and India.

1926. Pan-Oriental League meets at Odessa (Russia). Participants: Russia, Persia, Afghanistan and China.

1927. Syria rebels against France.

1927. Indian National Congress in session at Madras declares "complete national independence" as the goal of the Indian people.

1927. Riza Shah, King of Iran, abrogates the "capitulations" imposed by the European powers.

1932. Japan defies the League of Nations and recognizes Manchoukuo as an independent state.

1932. China abolishes extra-territoriality.

1932. The sailors of Indonesia (communistic) mutiny against the Dutch administration.

1937-39. Japan's successes in the China "incident." Collaboration of the Government of China at Nanking (comprising as it does the major portions[1] of Chinese population and territory) with victorious Japan automatically compels the Eur-American financial and political interests to undergo an eclipse. China is almost wholly freed from Western influence.

III. 1939—May, 1942

1939, July. The Tokyo Formula. The British Empire satisfies Japan's demands as to her special requirements in China by promising non-interference in China's affairs.

1939, September. The Government of China at Nanking (controlled by Japan) requests England and France to withdraw troops and warships from China. The request is complied with.

1940, April. The Nanking Government declares that China and Japan would establish a new order in East Asia.

[1] The remainder is under Chiang Kai-shek with headqurters at Chungking.

1940, June-July. France—after collapse in the war with Germany—concedes to Japan the right to use Indo-China as a military base.

1940, August. The British Empire concedes to Japan the right to inspect British custom offices in Rangoon *re* Burma-China trade, closes the Burma Road and withdraws troops from Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai.

1941, January-February. Thailand (Siam) declares war against France in Indo-China and recovers certain territories.

1941, April-May. Iraq under Rashid Ali rises against the British Empire.

1941, April-November. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Subhas Bose of Bengal are reported to be in alliance with Germany, Italy and Japan. Both are political exiles in Europe.

1941, December 7. Japan attacks the American and British Empires at Hawaii, Manila, Hongkong (British China) and Kota Bharu (Malaya) and occupies Victoria Point (December 15) and Tavoy (December 20) in southern Burma as well as Hongkong (December 23-25).

1941, December-1942, May. Some nationalists of the Philippines, Malaya, Indonesia and Burma are reported to be in alliance with Japanese forces.

1942, January 1. Japan occupies the Philippines from the American Empire and invades British Borneo (January 4) and the Dutch East Indies (January 11).

1942, January 24. Thailand (Siam) declares war upon the American and British Empires.

1942, February-March. Japan occupies Borneo from the Dutch and British Empires (February 5), Malaya Peninsula and Singapore port (Februay 15) from the British Empire, Indonesia (Celebes, Java and Sumatra) from the Dutch Empire (March 8) and Southern Burma up to Rangoon and Bassein (March 9).

1942, March 29-April 12. Indian National Congress rejects the offer of Dominion Status from the British War Cabinet (negotiated by Sir Stafford Cripps). The Japanese navy attacks British ships in the Bay of Bengal off Calcutta and bombs port-towns like Vizagapatam, Cocanada and Madras on the East Coast of India (April 6-8).

Benoy Sarkar.
Believes enemy broadcast ?

1942, May 1-10. Japan occupies almost the whole of Central and Upper Burma, seizes the Burma-China Road, and penetrates nearly 150 miles into Yunnan (China).

In an editorial of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta, May 13, 1942), based on official statements, it is suggested that Japan has received the support of Burman nationalists in her Burma campaign.

1942, May 8-15. Japan bombs the easternmost areas in the border districts of Assam and Bengal in India. Chittagong (Bengal) encounters bomb attacks and sustains casualties.

Objectively speaking, Eur-American prestige is at the *nadir* of depression in the middle of May, 1942. From Manila and Sourabaya to the Andamans and Burma up to nearly the furthest northern limits not a dog can bark without Japanese leave. How long the present situation continues is being watched by mankind with interest. It may be reasonably believed that the Anglo-American co-operation in war output and strategy is well calculated to counteract both German and Japanese advances and render them ephemeral. Complications will arise at the Peace.

The evolution of the Asian Monroe Doctrine since 1905 shows that Asian freedom has been expanding but that the expansion is slow and halting. It has been proceeding in a tentative manner, by doses and degrees. This is a purely historical fact. The survey of this expansion does not admit of camouflage and is not capable of being coloured by wishful thinking. Neither race-prejudice nor class-conflict, neither imperialistic megalomania nor nationalistic self-consciousness can minimize or overstate the facts as they have evolved during the last thirty-seven years. The statement is entirly non-political and non-partisan and should be dealt with by historians in a dispassionate spirit. We shall now turn our attention to some other aspects of the doctrine, with special reference to its real contents.

Slogans covering large masses of human beings and extensive territories of continental, hemispheroidal or inter-continental dimensions are calculated to expand one's soul and electrify one's imagination. But they deserve careful analysis and critical appraisal in terms of concrete, factual, pragmatic and "realpolitical" values. The interests of men and women are too immediate, local and personal to be satisfied by world-embracing systems of abstractions. Europe,

for instance, may be freed from the British Empire or from the American. But the Poles or the Fins may not be emancipated from Russia. Asia, likewise, may be freed from the American, British, Dutch, French and Russian masters. But the Arabs may not be freed from the Turks or the Koreans from the Japanese. And so on. Large categories of world-wide magnitudes may fail to confer freedom on the local regions and save them from the aggressions of their neighbours. But it is de-imperialization or de-colonization, *i.e.*, the abolition of foreign control or domination that is the desideratum for every race and region in Asia, Europe, Africa and America. Thus analyzed, the de-albinization of Asia is not tantamount to de-imperialization in Asia, just as the de-Britishization of Europe is not de-imperialization in this continent, or the de-Europeanization of America is not tantamount to de-imperialization in the New Hemisphere.

Without indulging in wishful thinking it is possible to state that in Western Asia[1] the slogan, "Asia for Asians" has not yet led to the re-Turkification of Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia and other regions. But, on the other side, in East Asia it has brought about the Japanification of (*a*) Manchoukuo (1932), (*b*) China Entire (1937-42) excluding the area under Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, (*c*) the Philippines (1941-42), (*d*) Indonesia (1941-42), (*e*) Malaya (1941-42), (*f*) Burma (1941-42), etc. In East Asia de-albinization has been consummated, for the time being, and may be taken to be provisional or temporary, as the white powers are expecting to recover their possessions. But this de-albinization, temporary as it may eventually turn out to be, has not yet conveyed de-imperialization to the peoples and regions involved. Unless Indonesia gets the status, say, of a Czechoslovakia, Burma of a Poland, the Philippines of a Hungary and so forth, the cult of "Asia for Asians" cannot be invoked to inspire anybody except the conjurer himself. The "Japanese co-prosperity sphere in East Asia" must be liberal enough to comprise such independent sovereign states on terms of legal and mutual equality in order to be recognized as a system of international welfare.[2]

This is a purely objective analysis of the Asian Monroe Doctrine from the angle of vision of the subject races. Many colonies or

[1] For the politics of the Near East see W. E. Hocking, *The Spirit of World-politics* (New York, 1932) and H. Kohn, *Revolutions and Dictatorships* (Harvard, 1939).
[2] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 330-32, 424-25, Part III, pp. 324-25.

dependencies may not care to consider de-albinization as until and unless it is attended with de-imperialization or de-colonization.

The face value of the American Monroe Doctrine or "America for Americans" is the absence of European (and Asian) intervention in American states. Nothing should appear to be a greater embodiment of freedom for the peoples and states of the American continent than this slogan. But the real value of this doctrine, as it has pragmatically turned out to be, is nothing but the domination of the Latin American states from Mexico and Central America to the farthest end of South America by the U.S.A. This domination is very often financial and economic and almost invariably political. To Mexico, Panama, Salvador, Colombia, and such other minor states and even to the big A.B.C. states the Monroe Doctrine has spelt not so much freedom from European and Asian intervention as the expansion of U.S. imperialism. The rest of the two Americas is a *de facto* politico-economic colony or dependency to the U.S.[1]

The category "world-order" is on the lips of British statesmen, especially of those who are interested in constructing something ostensibly more effective than the League of Nations. Its face value, although not yet precisely defined and universally agreed upon, is an alleged inter-national federation or union of a large number of states on terms of equality and fellowship. But so far as its real value is concerned, it is at bottom invariably projected to be nothing but the British Empire "writ large." It is designed as an association of those states which as a rule have been pro-British in recent years and which are likely to remain pro-British during the next decades. Automatically it involves an unfriendly orientation to all those states whose political, economic and financial measures have been anti-British and are expected to be anti-British *in esse* as well as *in posse*. Every state that belongs to such a world is a colony or semi-colony, a dependency or semi-dependency of the expanded or expanding British empire. Anglocracy glorified or magnified is the pattern of imperialism in this condition.[2]

[1] For American imperialism see P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics* (New York, 1926); H. Barnes, *History of Western Civilization* (New York, 1935), Vol II, and T. N. Das, *Foreign Policy in the Far East* (New York, 1936). See also *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 385, in regard to the common features of all Monroe Doctrines (American, British, French, German, Russian as well as Japanese).

[2] *World-Order Papers* (London, 1939, 1940); E. Barker, *The Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1941).

The face value of Germany's "new order for Europe" is the Monroe Doctrine for Europe.[1] It conveys an European continent emancipated from the British Isles and Empire as well as from America (and undoubtedly also from Asia). One can accept it as a cult of freedom for the peoples and states of Europe. But the real value of this "new order for Europe" is to be envisaged in an European continent which is directed financially and economically as well as politically from the industrial-technocratic zones of which Germany is the head. In this new European order the agrarian zones, are to function as the suppliers of raw materials and markets for industrial goods in order to establish the economic balance between the two Europes. It is Pan-Europa, no doubt, but with one half functioning as the colony to the other half led by Germany. This is a Germanized Europe corresponding to the U.S.-dominated America and the British-dominated world-system. We encounter in short Germanocracy as a form of imperialism.

The face value of "Asia for Asians" is an Asia from which non-Asians, *i.e.*, Europeans and Americans, have been excluded as political rulers. Sovereignty and freedom belong to the peoples of Asia organized in states. This is a formula of emancipation from the "white man's burthen" or albinocracy. One should have to envisage Indo-China and Syria emancipated from France, the Philippines from the U.S.A., Indonesia from Holland, Burma and India as well as Iraq and Palestine from England, and so forth. The doctrine should imply likewise the liberation of China from American, British, Dutch, French and Russian interventions. But the real value of the Asian Monroe Doctrine may turn out to be the re-establishment of Turkish domination over Syria, Palestine, Iraq and all the Arabias as well as the establishment of Japanese authority over the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma and so forth. An Asia which is de-albinized, *i.e.*, liberated from albinocracy or Eur-American imperialism, may be nothing but a continent which is ruled as a colony of Turkey or as a system of Japanese dependencies. Turcocracy and Japanocracy may take the place of albinocracy.

The war-cry "Asia for Asians" is not an unmixed blessing for all groups of Asians. It is an ambiguous category and may under

[1] A. Reithinger, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Europas* (Berlin, 1935); also *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 372, 406-08, 412.

circumstances turn out to be positively mischievous to certain Asian regions or races.

The relations of all the white empires to their Asian colonies or dependencies are not identical. In internal constitution, economic development, as well as cultural progress the policies of French imperialism and Dutch imperialism cannot be treated as being on the same level as those of American and British imperialisms. It is not possible for the U.S. and England to make common cause with France and Holland in regard to orientations towards subject races. In the *Realpolitik* of imperialism or colonialism England has hardly anything in common with Holland, nor has the U.S. any points of affinity with France. The unity of all whites *vis-à-vis* Asia is a myth and cannot be depended upon as a force in white chauvinism. Each white empire has, therefore, to be tried in the balance on its own merits and demerits.

From the standpoint of the subject nations, the colonies or the dependencies, also, a unity of orientations *vis-à-vis* all the white empires is psycho-socially inconceivable. The Filipino attitudes towards the American people are likely to be profoundly different from the Indian attitudes towards the British. These latter, again, are by all means substantially different from the Indonesian attitudes towards the Dutch and the Indo-Chinese towards the French.

Indians, for instance, are conscious and convinced that from Clive to Curzon, nay, down to Cripps British imperialism has followed one systematic policy of distrust and racial discrimination towards the people of India. It has, besides, deliberately prevented Indians from rising to a sufficiently high level in modern science, industry, technocracy, general culture, democracy and socialism and planfully kept them at a distance of some 80-85 years from the British people. With normal facilities available the four hundred millions of India today could have contributed to Asia and the world some half a dozen first-class powers of the Japanese type and standard or two of the Soviet Russian. It is because of British antipathy and philistinism that mankind has been deprived of India's adequate contributions to world progress. In spite of all these anti-Indian omissions and commissions on the part of the British empire Indian statesmen and intelligentsia are prepared to give the Devil his due and declare that India's condition today, positively miserable as it is on account of poverty, ill-health, mortality and illiteracy, is not perhaps as wretched

as that of Indonesia or Indo-China. If the Philippines are somewhat higher developed than India, India is likewise somewhat higher developed than Indonesia and Indo-China[1]

Sentiments and movements against albinocracy, white chauvinism, and Eur-American imperialism, domination or colonialism, are indeed widely and uniformly distributed throughout the length and breadth of Asia. But a united anti-albinocratic front is, therefore, hardly a question of practical politics among all Asian peoples except under emergency circumstances of temporary duration. The cry, "Asia for Asians" as the embodiment of the Asian Monroe Doctrine, is consequently liable to modifications on account of regional considerations. It cannot be automatically accepted as a universal force of uniform intensity in all the nooks and corners of Asia. In politics as in other interhuman relations the individual, the personal, the immediate and the local considerations, tinged as they are with emotional values, play a substantially determinant rôle and may often militate against the larger, more universal and abstract considerations exercising their sway in group activities.

The monumental category "Asia for Asian," means then, finally, that the heads and hearts of Asian men and women are likely to move, in the last analysis, not continentally but regionally. Every Asian region has its own problems due to European or American albinocracy. Each has, therefore, its own anti-albinocratic, anti-European, or anti-American front to construct in its own way, according to its own requirements.

The further consideration in each instance is, as has been often indicated that the most important desideratum for every region is de-imperialization or de-colonization as much from the Asian side as from the Eur-American. Albinocracy is not the only imperialism or colonialism. There is Turcocracy to be fought against by West Asia as much as Japanocracy by East Asia. In West Asia, therefore, every region has to provide for two anti-imperialist or freedom fronts: (1) anti-European and (2) anti-Turk. Similarly in East Asia every region has two freedom fronts to take care of : (1) anti-

[1] For Indo-China and Indonesia see *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 320-21 as well as T. E. Ennis, *French Policy in Indo-China* (Chicago, 1936) and C. Robequain, *L'Evolution Economique de l'Indo-Chine Française* (Paris, 1939) ; and for India see *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta 1932, 1938), chapters on banking, rationalization, crisis, etc., *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936) and *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936), see also *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 4-6.

European or Anti-American and (2) anti-Japanese. In a realistic analysis of the Asian Monroe Doctrine we should encounter not only anti-European and anti-American forces but, curiously and paradoxically enough, anti-Asian, *e.g.*, anti-Turk and anti-Japanese, tendencies as well. It is up to Turkey and Japan to convince and reassure the rest of Asia by adequate measures and policies that it would not be necessary for any Asian people to construct an anti-Turk or an anti-Japanese front in international strategy. Both Turkish and Japanese statesmen have to be capable of developing constitutional systems such as offer, first, equality *de facto* as well as *de jure*, and secondly, alliance, to the territories which are conquered by them.[1]

A more intensive analysis of Turcocracy and Japanocracy as forms of anti-albinocratic imperialism is possible. Like albinocracy each is undoubtedly imperialism. But to those Asians who live outside the Turcocratic sphere the expulsion of white power by Turkey is de-albinization of the inspiring type. The Asian dependencies of Turkey may not, however, take this de-albinization as a source of inspiration. Turkification can turn out to be nothing but foreign rule. It may not confer *swaraj* and democracy on the peoples "delivered" by Turkey from non-Asians. Similarly the Japanification of Asian lands, seas, and islands is likely to spell imperialism and colonial domination to the races of the regions affected, although they are de-albinized, *i.e.*, "liberated" from white empires, unless Japan commences by associating the liberated people with herself as equals and allies. "The wearer knows best where the shoe pinches"—not the outsider. Those Asian races and regions, on the other hand, which do not fall within the "co-prosperity sphere" of Japanocracy will see in it an effective embodiment of de-albinization as a creative force in Asian culture and politics. Neither the anti-Turcocratic front nor the anti-Japanocratic front is likely to be more than local or regional. Each may tend to be confined to those races and territories which happen to be ruled by an undemocratic and illiberal regime of Turkish or Japanese colonialism. In all other Asian areas the sentiments of the people at large are likely to be pro-Turk and pro-Japanese. The conditions in which Turkish rule in Arabia or Japanese rule in East Asia is conducive to *swaraj*, freedom and democracy are left out of consideration for the time being.

[1] For Turcocracy and Japanocracy see *Pol. Phil.* Vol. II, Part II, pp. 330-32, 424-25.

Every subject race is a group of chattels. It is transferable from master to master. And in this transfer there is no will or choice of the subject race itself. If the old master is incapable of keeping it a new master can take possession of it. The new master may think of conferring on his acquisition a certain dignity, perhaps racial and political equality, as well as freedom. But that belongs to his sweet will, depending not so much on his idealism as on expediency and sense of *Real Politic*.

In case Turkey is powerful enough to oust European states from Arabian territories these territories revert to herself without any special argument on the part of the latter. Turkey will then have accomplished a feat in "Asia for Asians." The expulsion of European empires by Turkey will be tantamount to Asianization, no doubt, but it will be Asianization of the Turcocratic type. Now that Japan has embarked on her career of *digvijaya* (world-conquests) and already deprived, temporarily as it may turn out to be, Eur-American empires of their Asian possessions, these Asian possessions are being transferred automatically as chattels from one master to another. The chattels themselves have no voice in the transfer which involves de-Europeanization and de-Americanization and is equivalent to Asianization. This Asianization, however, objectively considered, is Japanocracy, *i.e.*, Asia for Japan.

In Asia as elsewhere subject nations are unarmed and disarmed. They are, moreover, industrially under-developed and technocratically ill-equipped. It is impossible for them to do anything substantial on either side when their master is at war with an enemy. Their master does not deal with them as anything better than "coolies," as said Lord Wedgwood before the Commons on March 25, 1942. They have no other alternative than watching the tug of war in an entirely indifferent manner as from a circus gallery and awaiting their fate in a purely philosophical spirit. In case the Eur-American master proves to be inefficient and unfit to hold them as their chattels they find themselves peacefully and speechlessly transferred to the Asian power who becomes their new master. The category "Asia for Asians" can have hardly any meaning to the miserable Asians under such circumstances.

During the course of a war, *i.e.*, until the peace treaty is signed, the final condition of the territories lost or won cannot be foretold. The subject nations may not change masters permanently. There is

such a thing as the accident of battles. The transfer from the old master to the new is very often temporary or provisional. The old master may win back the lost territories and recover his old chattels, in the course of the war itself or at the peace-table. The fortunes of the subject nations are, therefore, bound to remain uncertain for a long or short period depending on the duration of the war. It is because of such circumstances of flux that the doctrine, "Asia for Asians" can turn out to be meaningful and creative.

No matter what the length of the period, the change of masters initiates new orientations in the mental and moral make-up of subject nations. The transformation of the *status quo* and the initiation of creative disequilibrium engender a mighty spiritual revolution among the enslaved men and women. In case the new master be judicious enough he may care to deal with them in a more democratic, egalitarian, liberal and humane manner than the old master. He may even endow the subject nations with *de jure* national freedom or *swaraj* and external sovereignty. It goes without saying that no conqueror can afford to grant hundred per cent. independence to conquered territories on the morrow of the conquest. That would be ultra-idealistic and quixotic. Neither in the use of arms and ammunitions nor in military-naval-aerial discipline nor in scientific-*cum*-technocratic development and industrial organization are the conquered peoples competent enough to manage their own affairs and maintain their independence, if granted at once, against their old masters. For a preparatory period of a good few years they are bound to remain in a condition of pupillage to their liberators, the new masters. It is impossible to avoid this transitional stage. The leaders of the subject nations (such as may happen to survive) can but try to make the best of the existing circumstances. The one objective that they can possibly have is to influence the new regime in such a manner as to acquire a higher political status than that to which they were used under the old master. The slogan "Asia for Asians" can in these conditions acquire a solid significance.

But, as indicated above, the new regime may not be anything but temporary. The old master's coming back is not always out of the question. That situation need not, however, be entirely unfavourable to subject races. The "geo-political" transformations of the transition period are likely to have knocked off the white master's albinocracy and arrogance to a certain extent. His white prestige mania

may tend to cool down as a result of his tasting a bit of the Asian mettle. Self-complacency and superiority complex may not continue to govern his *psyche* in an inordinate degree. On the other hand, the recovered chattels also are already somewhat transformed personalities. They will have received a practical schooling in world-politics. Their mentalities, attitudes and reactions towards rulers may have been remade as a result of their higglings and negotiations with the masters old and new. The sense of Asian superiority is likely to have come to stay as an essential ingredient in their personality and interhuman relations.

While dealing with such subject nations, ideologically transformed as they are, the old master, somewhat chastened and moderated as he is likely to be, may choose to commence work on a new slate, so to say. Old acquaintances will, then, encounter each other with new faces as well as new minds. Altogether, the change in the *status quo* due to war conditions tends somewhat to be a source of elevation in the political and constitutional scale to those unfortunate men and women, who because of unfamiliarity with arms, ammunition, tools and implements are bound to remain mere chattels to one master or another.

The utility of the Asian Monroe Doctrine during conditions of change in the *status quo* cannot, therefore, be gainsaid. "Asia for Asians" is, then, not mere "words, words, words" even to subject nations. Both Turcocracy and Japanocracy can directly as well as indirectly confer substantial freedom on the peoples in West Asia and East Asia under certain conditions. There is no idealism, spirituality, moral improvement or change of heart in all these things. The situation is ruled by the pressure of facts. The fact that an Asian power is at the gates and can tomorrow repeat the facts of yesterday is the grand *guru* or spiritual master in this shake-up. The rôle of fear in human characterology is normal and immense. "It is the fear of the people that is the wisdom of the lord" in the internal affairs of a state. In like manner, in international affairs[1] it is the fear of the powerful neighbour that compels the despot to mend his ways *vis-à-vis* his chattel. "Entangling alliances" are meaningful.

[1] For the impact of international influences and world-forces on national movements and the internal affairs of a country see B. K. Sarkar, *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London, 1912, Madras, 1930).

In Europe it is the might of great powers like Germany and Russia that has kept the rulers of neighbouring states straight in their dealings with citizens. Constitutional liberties, labour laws, socio-economic amenities, welfare activities have all been undertaken by states in keeping, to a certain extent, with the achievements and consummations of the powerful neighbours. In Asia for a long time Eur-American empires used to lord it over the world in the thought that their neighbours were primitive, savage and powerless. That self-complacency has been broken by the events of 1905-42. Eur-American empires have been steadily learning to fear and respect the Asians. The impact of this fear and respectfulness on their treatment of colonies or dependencies is well calculated to be epoch-making.

All the Eur-American empires of Asia are not going to be overthrown in their entirety by Japanocracy as a result of the armageddon that broke out in September, 1939. Nor are all the Asian colonies, dependencies or mandated areas belonging to Eur-American albinocracy going to be declared free, whether within or outside the Japanocratic sphere of "co-prosperity." A totalitarian emancipation of Asia from all white empires is not yet a question of practical politics. Many Asians in many regions are going to remain subject to the Western empires. Neither de-imperialization nor de-albinization is in for consummation on a continental scale in Asia. Japan's conquests in Asia bid fair in the main to be as ephemeral and short-lived as Germany's in Europe.[1]

I am not a strategist. My views are not those of a politician attempting to influence the masses or the leaders. These are but the speculations of a mere student of social, interhuman and international facts. It is only the theoretical analysis of contemporary *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) by a non-political and non-party intellectual that is being furnished to similar freelance intellectuals in the scientific world. No wishful thinking of any sort can be attached to these investigations by any publicist or scholar.

We are not witnessing the last world-war of history in East or West.[2] Neither Germanocracy nor Japanocracy is yet powerful enough to tower above all the "cracies" in solitary greatness. Neither Anglocracy nor Americanocracy, neither Russocracy nor even

[1] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 489, 493-97.
[2] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 323-28.

Frenchocracy is in process of final liquidation. The Asian Monroe Doctrine or the cult of "Asia for Asians" has, therefore, an extensive period of future developments to unfold. The struggle of Asia against albinocracy is going to remain a paramount force in world-politics for quite a long time. It is, indeed, destined to proceed parallel to and *pari passu* with the struggle of the poor and the pariah of the two hemispheres against the domination of economic and birth aristocracies. Preparedness on all fronts—anti-albinocratic, anti-imperialistic as well as anti-capitalistic—is the prime concern of mankind today and tomorrow with a view to the next war.[1]

Since 1905 the liberation of Asia from non-Asian domination has been virtually the only or the most significant politics of the Asian peoples. In and through even the local or regional interests, in and through even the most narrow concerns of groups or parties there has run the fundamental ideology of Asia's reactions to Eur-American powers. It is the emancipation of Asia from albinocracy which has directly or indirectly furnished the inspiration, programme and policy of every Asian political creativity during the last thirty-seven years. However widely the regions may differ from one another in topography, race, economy, religion and culture, the politics of Egypt, the politics of Yemen, the politics of Palestine, the politics of Iraq, the politics of Afghanistan, the politics of the Punjab, the politics of Bombay, the politics of Bengal, the politics of Burma, the politics of Thailand, the politics of Indo-China, the politics of the Philippines, the politics of Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, etc), and last but not least, the politics of Turkey, Iran, China and Japan have had to orientate themselves to the one common and fundamental urge of freedom from white domination. The evolution of Asian politics during the last generation—under traditional nationalist and socialist or even communist auspices—has comprised but the diverse forms and stages in the expansion of Asian freedom.

[1] B. K. Sarkar, *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* Calcutta, 1941), sections on "Pacifism and War," pp. 510-14, and "The Functioning of Creative Disequilibrium," pp. 529-37.

BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN BENGAL

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THE part played by libraries in the promotion of education and culture came to be widely appreciated only after the establishment of British rule in India. Of course, libraries of various types existed before the advent of the British in India. They were attached to temples, monasteries, palaces and even houses of the rich. Buehler found about 30,000 MSS. at two Jain temples at Cambay and about 12,000 MSS. at the Palace at Tanjore. The richness of the contents of the Royal Library at Delhi was widely known. Mandelsco who visited the Library in the middle of the seventeenth century made the following observations in his *Travels*:

"Four and twenty thousand manuscripts, so richly bound that they are valued at six millions four hundred sixty thousand seven hundred thirty one Ropias."

Mughal emperors at Delhi were well-known for their love of books. Humayun was a great bibliophile and had a large collection in his Imperial Library. Lala Beg was his Librarian. He converted the pleasure house of Sher Shah into a fine library. Akbar continued to augment the Imperial Library with notable additions of works on History, Philology, and Science. He appointed Faizi, the great Persian poet, Librarian of the Imperial Library. Alamgir's chief interest was Theology. *Fatawa-i-Alamgir* was prepared during his reign and was deposited in the Imperial Library.

However, all these libraries were regarded as personal properties and had no place in a national education system. Education was not so broad-based as it is today and the obligation of the state in the spread of mass education was not recognized either here or in Europe. This conception was the outcome of the Industrial Revolution in the later part of the eighteenth century when demand for trained personnel for growing industrial establishments increased rapidly. Schools and Colleges sprang up in all parts of the country along with Public Libraries and the benefits of a liberal education were made accessible to all classes of people.

This movement did not reach India which was then in the turmoils of acute political and economic crisis. The Indigenous Powers were dying out and the British had still to consolidate their position. With the decline in the fortunes of the landed aristocracy and the court who were the chief patrons of learning, the cause of education suffered. Although the art of printing was not unknown before the time of Sir Charles Wilkins, printed books at reasonably cheap rates was unobtainable in the country. Books used were in manuscripts and naturally had a very limited circulation. The educated people cared only about Sanskrit and Persian education, with the result that vernacular dialects were sadly neglected. All these were responsible for confining education within a small circle of Pandits and Maulvis who had great influence in the country. During the first few years of British rule, the Government did not desire to make any change in the existing arrangement. The Pandits and the Maulvis continued to wield the political influence they formerly had in the country and became convenient tools for carrying out the administration of the country. It was considered necessary, in the interest of maintaining efficiency in the administration, to ensure a regular supply of learned Pandits and Maulvis conversant with the ancient dialects and capable of interpreting the laws and customs of the country. For this, Calcutta Madrasah was founded by Warren Hastings in 1781, and Benares Sanskrit College came into existence in 1792 through the initiative of the British Resident at Benares, Mr. Jonathan Duncan. One of the objects of the establishment of these Institutions was to collect and to preserve Oriental Manuscripts which were then becoming scattered throughout the country and exposed to the influences and hazards of time, accident and neglect.

About this time the Court of Directors had formulated a policy on the question of the preservation of Eastern Manuscripts. Since the battle of Plassey works of Indian Art and Antiquities were finding their way to England, along with large collections of Oriental Manuscripts, mainly through the servants of the East India Company. Some of these collections were presented to the Company. Towards the close of eighteenth century they became so important that the Directors found it necessary to have a suitable home for the purpose of an Oriental Repository. This was provided in this new building of the Company which was opened in Leadenhall Street. On the 25th May, 1798, the Court of Directors, informing the Governor-General

of India the decision to open a Public Repository for Oriental writing in the India House, said that they would be glad to receive collections of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts and also Manuscripts in Sanskrit or in any other ancient dialects of the Hindoos for safe preservation. Shortly after this Tipoo Sultan's valuable Library, consisting of nearly 2,000 volumes of Arabic and Urdu Manuscripts beautifully written and exquisitely ornamented, came into the possession of the British army who presented it to Government. Lord Wellesly, the then Governor-General of India, wanted to retain the Manuscripts in India in the Library of the Fort William College and expressed himself thus:

"It is obvious that these Manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new institution and that much more public advantage can be derived from the library of the college at Fort William than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London."

Although this view was expressed on the 18th August, 1800, and the acquisition of Tipoo Sultan's collections was known to the Court of Directors, they did not give any direction as to the final disposal of the Serringapattam collections for five years. Probably they were not aware of the richness of the collections till the arrival of Captain Stuart who drew the attention of the Court of Directors to the importance of securing the Manuscripts for the Company's Library. On the 5th June, 1805, the Court of Directors wrote for *the first time* to the Governor-General that "they had *always* intended that Tipoo Sultan's collections should be preserved in the Company's Library." These collections formed the basic stock round which the Company's Library, now known as the India Office Library, has been built. The Company had to undergo very little expenses for the book account; munificent donations flowed in from old servants of the Company, ably seconded by the efforts of the British Government in India. The Royal Library of Delhi, the Library of the Burmese Kings at Mandalay, the Library of Adil Shah at Bijapur and the Marhatta Library at Poona were all sent to England for safe preservation. All these collections go to make the India Office Library what it is today—the foremost centre in Europe for the study of Eastern Languages and Traditions.

While on one hand rare and valuable Manuscripts in Oriental languages were being taken away to England, on the other printed books in English at reasonably cheap price were being imported

into India for the promotion of English education and culture. A movement was also set afoot for making English the medium of instruction in India. The British Government was not at first associated with this move. This was left to the Missionaries and that section of the Indian public which had received English education. It was through their efforts that the Hindu College was founded in Calcutta in 1817, for giving English education to Indian boys. The institution, within a short time, proved to be so much a success that in 1835, the General Committee of Public Instruction recorded that "a command of the English language and familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled in any schools in Europe."

The success of the Hindu College no doubt to a certain extent influenced the Government in the momentous declaration of 1835 of making English the medium of instruction. Thereafter, all avenues of employment were thrown open to English knowing people who became the instruments of the British Government in India for carrying out the day-to-day administration of the country instead of the Maulvis and Pandits. As a consequence the urge for English education was felt even in the remotest part of the country and Schools and Colleges began to spring up not only in Calcutta but even in mofussil towns. Every School and College had a small collection of books forming the School and College Libraries. The teachers had to depend largely on the book stock of Libraries of the Schools and Colleges for their normal class work, as suitable books were not easily obtainable in India and had to be imported from England. Every effort was made to encourage the scholars to use library books during their leisure hours and thus acquire a reading habit. The General Committee of Public Instruction insisted on the School and College authorities to send in Library returns showing the number of boys using the library and the number of volumes used so as to stimulate development of library habit among the scholars. In 1839, Lord Auckland announced that a silver medal would be awarded to the student of English Schools who would be judged to have received the greatest benefit from the use of the Library. The award of a gold medal was promised to the best user of the Library from amongst the College students. In 1848, however, the Council of education came to the conclusion that the system of awarding the Library Medal by which the students were allowed to read whatever books they pleased

had resulted in too much desultory reading. A particular subject was thereafter selected and candidates were examined in the books read by the students on that subject.

The Hindu College Library collections became more important than any other contemporary College Libraries. In 1836, Trevelyan attributed the supremacy of the Hindu College students over other College students to the well-equipped Library of the former College. In 1835 Hooghly College appointed its first Librarian on a pay of Rs. 30. It had drafted a set of rules for the use of the Library that came into effect from that year. It appears from the rules that even outsiders were allowed to use the Library. This was undoubtedly a great privilege in a mofussil town, as English-knowing people had no alternative except recourse to the School and College Libraries to keep up a taste for reading.

School and College Libraries, however, were not meant for those desiring to acquaint themselves with English language through their own efforts. Neither were they quite adequate for keeping up a taste for reading among the increasingly large number of ex-students of English and Vernacular Schools after leaving Schools and Colleges. The need for a Public Library for these classes as well as for providing recreational reading outside office hours, especially of the European community, was strongly felt in Calcutta. Most youngmen of the services used to take out a stock of books with them to India, while few took any back. Consequently, a large stock of common standard works were accumulated. Small Public libraries began to be established with these books as a nucleus. In 1835, Mr. J. H. Stocquel, editor of the Englishman, drafted a scheme for the establishment of a Public Library in Calcutta. His proposed scheme received considerable sympathy and support from all the leading citizens of the town, both Indian and European.

The Library when opened was accommodated in the lower apartment of Dr. E. P. Strong's house in Esplanade Road. From the later part of July, 1841, it found its own home when the Matcalfe building was completed.

The Library expanded rapidly during the first few years of its existence. The nucleus of the Library stock was formed by gifts from private individuals and transfer of about 4,675 volumes from the Fort William College Library. In 1848, the Library stock stood at over 20,000 volumes.

The financial position of the Library began to decline steadily since 1850. The fall in the revenue was due to the shorter stay at the Presidency of military officers arriving from Europe, the annual removal of the Government of India to Simla, the formation of libraries under the Government departments and the Calcutta Reading Club in the northern part of the town.

The Government had no control in the management of the Library which was entrusted to a committee of 3 Curators chosen by the Proprietors and first class Subscribers of one year's standing.

In 1873, the Board of Curators gave way to a Council who became responsible for the management of the Library. Raja Narendra Krishna was appointed President in 1877.

As the Asiatic, Agricultural and other Societies were receiving grants from the Government, the Council, in 1880, appealed to the Government for similar financial help. Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, bitterly criticizing the maladministration of the Library in his reply, said that the Government would consider the question of financial assistance only if the whole management of the Library was thoroughly reconstituted and the Government given a potential voice in its administration.

This suggestion was, however, not found acceptable to the Council and the question of financial help was dropped for the time.

The financial position of the Library further deteriorated and the Council had to renew its application for financial assistance in 1885, soliciting a grant of Rs. 200 a month, which it promised to spend upon works of such nature as might be required by the Government.

The Government directed the Council to apply to the Corporation of Calcutta for aid.

The views of the Corporation were forwarded to the President of the Council on the 21st March, 1887:

"The Corporation states that as the population which uses Free Public Libraries in Europe is at present scarcely existent in Calcutta, they will hardly be justified in supporting a free library which will be used almost exclusively by wealthier members of the community who now subscribe to it and will probably then cease to do so."

Sir Thomas Rivers Thomson, the then Lt.-Governor of Bengal, also refused help.

Another application for fixing a municipal rate at half a pie in the rupee on the analogy of library rates prevalent in England met with no better fate. The Corporation replied that it had no power under the Act to spend money in the way suggested.

In the mean time the financial position worsened so much that the Council, on the 18th July, 1888, informed the Government that unless adequate financial assistance was soon forthcoming, it would be compelled to close the Library.

The Government was willing to give financial assistance but only on its own conditions.

Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, in his private capacity as a proprietor of the library, had proposed that the Calcutta Public Library might be made really a Public Library and not a subscribers' Library which it then was. For this he suggested that the Library and all its appurtenances ought to be made over to the Municipality of Calcutta, to be maintained by it in perpetuity as a free Library for the town and suburbs which should be free to all respectable citizens and supplementing the free Library with a lending department open to the Proprietors and Subscribers of the old Library.

The essence of the scheme was the transfer of part of the control of the Library to the Corporation of Calcutta which was then an official body.

To the Council's letter of the 18th July, Mr. C. H. J. Cotton, Secretary to the Government, replied that Mackenzie's scheme must form the basis of any future rearrangement. On the question of financial assistance it was pointed out that as the new Municipal Act contained a special provision empowerring the Municipalities to spend money for Library purposes, it was expected that the new Corporation would take a favourable attitude. After the draft scheme had been accepted at a meeting of the Proprietors and Subscribers, a Sub-Committee was appointed by the Government consisting of Sir H. J. Reynolds, Sir Henry Harrison and Sir. Alfred Croft as Government nominees and two nominees of the Proprietors and Subscribers. The Sub-Committee recommended that the existing council should be replaced by a Council of twelve members, half of whom would be nominees of the Government or the Municipality and half appointed by Subscribers and Proprietors, the President to be chosen from the nominees of the Government or the Municipality, and the Vice-President from among those of the Proprietors and Subscribers.

The recommendations of the Sub-Committee were accepted both by the Municipality and by the Subscribers and Proprietors.

Under the arrangements the Corporation had to bear the entire cost of Rs. 8,000 per annum for the purchase of books.

Mr. Lea became the first President and Raja Narendra Krishna the first Vice-President of the reconstituted Council in 1890.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal was appointed Secretary and Librarian under the new arrangement, in which post he continued till 1892.

The Government of Bengal donated Rs. 5,000 towards the expenses of the reorganisation of the Library and also expressed its willingness to make over the large collection of English and Vernacular books then in the Bengal Library to the custody of the Council, to become part of the reference library, on condition that the Librarian Pandit Haraprasad Shastry of the Bengal library be added to the Council of the Calcutta Public Library.

As the new arrangement had come into force only a few months ago, this attempt further to strengthen the representation of the Government was very much resented by the proprietors and Subscribers. They stubbornly refused to accept the Bengal Library collections on the conditions proposed and the offer was also withdrawn.

Further attempts to take complete control of the Library were made by the Government after the appointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India. Lord Curzon's cherished ambition was to make Calcutta a worthy capital of the British Empire in the East and to present it with a Library worthy of the same. The Calcutta Public Library was then fast degenerating into a library of light literature and fiction. Therefore the taking over of the collections of the Calcutta Public Library and amalgamating with the Government collections of records, writings and MSS. were considered essential towards the realization of his desires. The Government entered into prolonged negotiations with the various interests concerned and in 1902 it was announced in the Imperial Council that the negotiations had been brought to a successful conclusion. This is in brief the history of the long and bitter struggle to secure official control over the Calcutta Public Library, leading ultimately to the foundation of the Imperial Library.

While the Calcutta Public Library was catering to the needs of the Calcutta public for light literature, Special Libraries forming valuable adjuncts to Learned Associations came into existence for meeting the demand for scientific and learned literature.

Of these, the Asiatic Society, now known as the Royal Asiatic Society, was established in 1784—the object of the society being to enquire into the History and Antiquities, Arts and Sciences and Literature of Asia. A library department was formed as an indispensable part of the Society, and collections began to be made through purchases, gifts, and exchange of the publications of the Society.

On the abolition of the College of Fort William, the Society obtained a valuable collection of historical and other works relating to social sciences, duplicates and works of general interest having been given to the Calcutta Public Library.

The Indian Museum Library may be called an offspring of the Asiatic Society. It was created after the passing of the Indian Museum Act of 1866, when the scientific works on Zoology and kindred subjects were transferred from the Society Library to the Library of the Indian Museum. In the Catalogue of the Museum in 1879 it is stated:

"Nearly all the works in the catalogue not having a direct bearing on Biology were presented to the Trustees by the Government of India and among them a large number of 'Travels,' etc., which many years ago formed part of the Library of Fort William."

The Geological collections were entrusted to the Geological Survey and the Zoological and Archæological collections placed under an officer named John Anderson, who became the first Superintendent in 1866. It is, therefore, evident that although the Zoological section of the Museum was converted into the Zoological Survey of India with Dr. Annandale as its first Director in 1916, the department really dates historically from the foundation of the Indian Museum in 1866.

Library movement in the nineteenth century was not confined within the city of Calcutta. Public Libraries began to be established even in distant mofussil towns. Uttarpara Public Library was established in 1859. Midnapore Public Library was founded in 1852 through the efforts of H. V. Bayley, the then Collector of Midnapore. Nearly all those who had received English education became subscribers of the Library. The utility of the Library in keeping up a taste for reading among the English-educated people was favourably commented upon by Ricketts in his administration report of the district of

Midnapore to the Government of Bengal who, in its resolution dated the 11th January, 1854, expressed its desire to establish similar reading rooms at larger stations.

But this resolution remained merely a pious wish, as no attempts were made by the Government to translate this into action.

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realised, it was necessary that four duties should be performed—the duty to produce to the limit, the duty to transport it rapidly to the battlefields, the duty to fight with all that is in us and the duty to build a peace which is just, charitable and enduring.

In the United States the position of the Vice-President was for one century and a half rather peculiar, even pathetic. The one specific duty which the Constitution devolved upon him was that of presiding over the meetings of the Senate. He has the other duty of waiting for the President to die in office or to become disabled for the conduct of his duties, in which case the Vice-President is to step into his shoes for the remainder of the term. Early in the experiment of the federal constitution an attempt was made by George Washington to associate the Vice-President with his Cabinet. But it did not succeed and when Jefferson became Vice-President in 1797 he definitely pointed out that his only duty was to preside over the Senate meetings. This tradition was acted up to until January, 1941. President Roosevelt has different ideas about the functions of the Vice-Presidency. It is true that so long as John N. Gurner was holding the office, the President could not change the tradition. Gurner had little sympathy for the New Deal policies of Roosevelt and was not exactly *persona grata* with his chief. As Vice-President he maintained complete political silence. The election of Henry Wallace as Vice-President in the fall of 1940, however, gave Roosevelt a chance to give effect to his ideas as to the functions of the Vice-President. Wallace was an ardent New Dealer and Secretary to the Department of Agriculture in the previous term of office of the President. Their personal relations are most cordial. In view of this it is not surprising that President Roosevelt has gone back upon a long tradition and associated Mr. Wallace actively with his Administration.

Vansittart *vs.* Others.

Lord Vansittart had been permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office and later Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the British Government. He retired some time ago, possibly because the Prime Minister did not find him any longer useful. Even when he was still in service, he gave vent to his feelings openly about the German people whom he held responsible for the present War and upon whom he wanted the British nation to wreak vengeance. His speeches and addresses delivered in this connection have been embodied in a pamphlet entitled " Black Record." The dissemination of such views regarding the whole German people has not, however, found favour with many. Speaking on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the birth of the Red Army, Comrade Stalin referred in February last to " Hitler's clique " which was to be fought and exterminated. But his speech definitely distinguished the German people from the clique. Mr. Victor Gollancz has also written a book, " Shall Our Children Live or Die," in which he has given a reply to Lord Vansittart. Recently several other persons holding important official positions have similarly objected to the method of propaganda which Lord Vansittart wants to popularise. General Sir Bernard Paget, who happens to be the Commander-in-Chief of Britain's Home Forces, pointed out very clearly that promotion of hatred against the German people should not be a part of the training of the British soldiers. That would not take them very far. Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, U.S.A., cherishes the same sentiments and has observed that the people as a whole must not be forced to atone vicariously for crimes for

which only a few might be responsible. On the 4th of June last, in course of a debate in the House of Lords, Lord Selborne, the Minister for Economic Warfare, declared on behalf of the Government that "Britain will never propose revenge. Individuals guilty of atrocities will be punished. That is not revenge: that is justice."

Pacific Charter?

The Atlantic Charter was a document signed by President Roosevelt of the United States, and Mr. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and published on August 14, 1941. It was a joint declaration of the peace aims of the two powers. The third item in this joint declaration says that "they (Great Britain and the U.S.A.) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." On the face of it this declaration appeared to all to be categoric and unequivocal. But it may be recalled that soon after the Declaration was made public, a member of the British House of Commons put a question to His Majesty's Government if the Charter applied to India. Mr. Attlee, in replying in the absence of the Prime Minister who had not yet returned, made observations which raised doubts in the minds of many as to the applicability of the Charter to India's case. When Mr. Churchill returned, he made a cryptic but categoric statement to the effect that the Atlantic Declaration did not apply to India. This was an interpretation of the Charter which was not acceptable to many. Nobody knows if it was accepted by Mr. Roosevelt.

But whatever that might be, the idea gradually gained ground that the Joint Declaration was meant only for the white countries. In the United States it was not stressed so directly that the Declaration applied to white countries only. But the same thing was indirectly emphasised here. It was pointed out that the Atlantic Charter applied to countries on the Atlantic only, so that in the U.S.A. the Asiatic countries could not profit by it. The unsophisticated people all over the world possibly believed that the Declaration was called the Atlantic Charter simply because it was signed on the Atlantic sea. But it is not for unsophisticated people to unravel the mysteries of diplomacy and of foreign policy.

The common people may be hoodwinked no doubt by both ingenious and ingenuous interpretation of diplomatic documents. The world forces are, however, too strong for diplomatic pundits to control. A Reuter's message from New York, dated the 29th May, tells us that in the United States a definite movement has been set on foot for a Pacific Charter on the same lines as the Atlantic Declaration. It is to embody the policy of freedom and equality which the Western countries are to follow towards the nations of Asia. But will any such declaration be of any avail without, as Gandhiji might say, a real change of heart on the part of the high gods?

The Reforms Commissioner.

About a year ago Mr. H. V. Hodson of the Round Table was appointed to the vacant post of the Reforms Commissioner under the Government of India. The Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Aney in replying to a question in the Legislative Assembly observed that this appointment was made by the Governor-General in his discretion and the Government of India as such had no responsibility for it. Whether such an appointment can be made by the

Governor-General in his discretion legal experts alone may tell us. To our mind Section 205 of the Government of India Act under which, Mr. Aney told us, this appointment was made by the Governor-General in his discretion does not really cover it. But whatever that might be, the question is as to what he might have been doing during the last one year. We know that he moved about a lot before the Japanese War and rumour had it that he was framing a "democratic" constitution for India under which the majority community might not have a majority either in the legislature or in the executive. It is high time that the public is taken into confidence as to the activities of Mr. Hodson. An Indian Constitution is not to be hatched behind the purdah.

Experts from Outside for Government of India.

Mr. Hodson is not the only expert chosen direct from "Home." During the present Governor-Generalship some other experts were also imported and messages from New Delhi tell us that the importation of some more is contemplated. The Economic Adviser to the Government of India was a Professor in a British University and imported from there to "advise" the Government of India. An officer of the department of Inland Revenue in Great Britian was similarly brought in for a term to reorganise the Income Tax department in India. We are now told that a person will be invited from the same country to hold office under the Government of India as its Labour Adviser. We are further given to understand by the *Statesman's* own correspondent that the Marketing Adviser under the Council of Agricultural Research will be appointed from the United States. We admit that under the New Deal much has been done in the U.S.A for agricultural marketing, and if an expert is to be imported from outside at all, he should better be brought in from America. But it is high time that the principle of such appointments from outside is examined afresh. There are two aspects of the matter which should be gone into with care. In the first place it may be pointed out that persons available in India have not the broad outlook and the experience at once wide and deep necessary for the work that the experts are to perform. If that be the argument, the Government of India should take time by the forelock. While there is still time, it should send one or more Indians with requisite basic qualifications to foreign countries where they may study at first hand the organisation of work which they may be called upon to tackle later in this country. It may again be pointed out that the basic education of the Indians who may aspire to be experts is defective and may not profit even by one or more foreign tours. In that case the matter should be placed before the Inter-University Board or before a special Conference of University representatives, so that the defect existing may be rectified. In any event the importation of so-called experts from outside is a policy which has to be abandoned. From the sentimental point of view it is a slur on our national honour and from the practical point of view it shuts out Indians from responsible positions and from opportunities of service to their country. When for instance Drs. Gregory and Meek were sent out to the United States to explore the possibilities of Indian trade expansion in that country, they naturally shut out two Indians from the experience they might have acquired, of the commercial possibilities in the new World. None can contemplate this policy with equanimity and the Universities and other educational institutions which are responsible for the training up of our men can contemplate it only with great chagrin.

Lend-Lease Agreements.

Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and China have of late severally signed agreements with the United States regarding payments to be made for the lend-lease aid made by the latter country in the present War. Great Britain was the first of these powers to sign an agreement in this regard and the principles on which this agreement was based underlie the agreements entered into later with China and the U.S.S.R. It was in the last week of February that the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, and the acting Secretary of State of the U.S.A., Mr. Sumner Welles, signed the document on behalf of their respective countries. Under the terms of the arrangement thus arrived at, the President of the United States is empowered to set the value of the lend-lease aid made to Britain at any figure. But however high this figure might be, it would not be regarded as a debt which Great Britain would be required to clear by payment of money to the United States after the War. The debt would rather be balanced by the services which Great Britain has already rendered to the cause of democracy by fighting Hitlerism alone for many months, and which Great Britain may still render by supplying men and materials during the rest of the period of War. Besides, Great Britain will be required to forego the imperial preferences which she may enjoy in the Empire so that the American people may not have any difficulty in competing with the British nationals in the British Empire. The United States also will lower their own tariff barrier and give corresponding facilities to British traders. So payment for the lend-lease aid has to be made in three ways—(*i*) by fighting for the democratic cause in the past three years, (*ii*) by continuing to fight for it during the remaining period of the war, and (*iii*) by giving necessary facilities to American trade. It is understood that these principles underlie the agreements with China and the U.S.S.R. as well. What about India ? So far there has been no agreement. But if one is entered into, she may be required to give up even the policy of discriminating protection adopted after the last War. It is time for thinking.

What Does National Government Mean ?

There has been some confusion in the public mind as to the significance of National Government. The confusion is not unjustified. It may be said that the government which represents not this or that section of the public but the public in its entirety, should be called a national government. It may also be emphasised that this government is to further the interests of the nation as a whole and not to grind the axe of a party or a class. So far we follow. But the question is, if sufficient materials are available in any country for the constitution of a national government. In countries with traditions of parliamentary government, the setting up of such a national government is particularly difficult, if not impossible. The politicians are strong party men and are not likely to shed their sectional views even when they are members of the national government. It was possibly on this account that during the last Great War there was no demand in Britain for such a government. What was insisted upon by the public was that the War emergency should be tackled by a coalition government. Accordingly in 1915 Mr. Asquith, the Liberal Prime Minister, invited the leaders of the other parties to join the ministry. It should be known that the ministers of a coalition cabinet remain united no doubt to meet the emergency,

but they do not cease to be party men. They remain affiliated to their parties and look after their interests. So while a national government is to override parties, a coalition government not only tolerates them but is based upon them.

It may be asked as to why, with the example of a coalition government successfully meeting an emergency during the last Great War, there was an insistence in Britain in 1931 for a national government to face the financial crisis of that year. To our mind this demand for a national government in Britain in the early thirties reflected only the influences of totalitarian ideas which were making so rapid a headway on the Continent. But it should be pointed out that although such a government was formed in 1931 and has continued ever since, it could hardly be called national at any time before the fall of Chamberlain. Even now when all the elements of British public life are represented in the Government and men unconnected with parties but enjoying the confidence of the nation are also in the Cabinet, there is much doubt in the public mind if the present Government of Mr. Churchill can be called truly a national one. *The Economist* of April 4, for instance, points out that the reconstituted War Cabinet "has emancipated itself—or has been emancipated by popular pressure—from the parties. But outside the War Cabinet, the Government is still almost wholly recruited from parties, its balance is determined by the results of the General Election of 1935, its members are (with few exceptions) nominated by their party eminence rather than by their personal competence. . . ." So what is called "national" may not actually be so. The confusion in the public mind, we may repeat, is justified.

Soviet Railways.

The importance of railways can never be over-estimated in the Soviet Union. The country is vast and its different parts are largely interdependent. It is true that by the digging of canals an alternative—and in respect of certain matters more efficient—communication has been developed but railways continue to be the vital factor of economic progress and now of defence in the U.S.S.R. Unfortunately neither in extent nor in quality the development of railways has been so far quite commensurate with the growth of the union in other spheres. In 1913 the total length of railway lines was 58,500 kilometres and in 1940 it was increased to 93,000 kilometres. But while there has been thus an increase of only sixty per cent. in length, freight has increased by 300 per cent. (from 132.4 million tons to 536.6 million tons). As to the number of locomotives there has been an increase only to the extent of 40 per cent., though it has to be emphasised that there has been an increase in pulling power by fifty per cent. It may be asked as to why there is such disparity between industrial growth and railway development. The reply is to be found in the fact that the Soviet Government had decided to develop the resources of the Union according to plan. The steel output was limited and what was available had to be devoted to heavy industries and to the building up of armament. Secondly, plants for rail-building were not equal to the task of making a large increase at once in rail-production. So it was decided that the third Five Year Plan would provide for the tackling of the railway problem. But only a portion of this Plan was carried out when the Soviet Governmet had to pay its attention to more pressing questions.

The Man Behind the Red Army.

We hear little or nothing of the man who really determines the strategy which the Red Army has followed in the present War. He is cold, reticent and even silent and keeps always out of the limelight. He is no other than Marshal Boris Shaposhnikov. Born in the Urals sixty years ago, he joined the Czarist army as an officer and rose to be a colonel. During the Revolution he went over to the Bolshevik side and became thenceforward the brain of the Red Army. He has mastered everything that great military minds ever conceived in history. The teachings of Clausewitz, Napoleon, Gustavas Adolphus and Caesar are never out of his memory. He has himself written a great book called the Brain of the Army, and had for some time the responsibility of training men for the Red Army as Chief of Frunze Red Banner Military Academy. He now holds the post of Chief of Staff and advises Stalin about military strategy. His knowledge is so profound and his judgment so sure that Stalin cherishes implicit confidence in his decisions. His loyalty to Stalin is also unquestioned. It may be mentioned that Shaposhnikov, like many other great Russians, is an expert chess player.

Sugar Supply.

For some days sugar was out of market in Calcutta. This led to much loose talk in uninformed circles as to the production of sugar in this country and its future. In 1939-40 there were altogether 158 sugar mills in India, and 146 actually produced the commodity. It is unfortunate that of this large number Bengal could boast only of five. As to the amount of production of these mills, it may be said that because of accumulation of stock it has been on the decline for the last two years. In 1939-40 the total production was 12 lakhs and 11 thousand tons, in 1940-41 it was 10 lakhs and 95 thousand tons and in 1941-42 it has been possibly 8 lakhs tons only. But these 8 lakhs tons together with the stock in hand and with what has been imported from outside ought to have met the normal demand in this country. Why then was this shortage referred to above? Several explanations may be offered. In the first place lack of wagon facilities makes importation of sugar from one province of the country to another very difficult, if not impossible. Secondly, the Government of India has by an order fixed the price of sugar at Rs. 11-12-0 per maund. The producers think that this is too low a price to agree to and as a protest against it they have not shown any enthusiasm for clearing their stock. None will say that the price fixed by the Government of India has been too low. But the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 18th June last gave out that some quantities of sugar were purchased in the Indian market and exported to, and sold in, Iran. The purchase price was, according to the order of the Government of India, Rs. 11-12 per maund while the sale price in Iran was Rs. 37 per maund. Now we are told that this export had to be made through the *United Kingdom Commercial Corporation.* We do not know if this body was a mere intermediary and enjoyed some commission only or whether it was the exporting body itself and pocketed the balance of Rs. 25 per maund *minus* only the freight charges. The interests of the consumers naturally consist in the lowering of price. But on the ground of looking after these interests the Government of India should do nothing which may open out an undue opportunity to a foreign corporation for exploitation. Besides there must be something very

wrong somewhere if it is a fact that export from India to countries in the Middle East can be made only through the good offices of this *United Kingdom Commercial Corporation.*

Teaching of History in British Schools.

The Board of Education in England issued a memorandum some time ago, in which it discussed the problem of teaching American history to the boys and girls in secondary schools. They have to learn history of England, history of Europe, history of the British Empire and in addition to these they have also now to pick up an acquaintance with the history of the United States of America. This teaching of the United States history is part of the attempt to bring about a better and more friendly understanding with that country. The question, however, was, if, with two three periods in a week at their disposal, the teachers would find it possible to deal adequately with the history of so many countries. The Board of Education has now offered advice, which, if properly acted up to, will kill two birds with one stone. It will make the task of the teachers more light and more interesting and at the same time it will help the boys and girls to understand the United States better and to be more friendly disposed towards the American people. The advice is that a formal chronological treatment should be abandoned and a topical comparative treatment of United States history should be resorted to. The constitutional organisation of the United States, the growth of parties in that country, the rise of big business are some of the topics suggested in this connection and they may be explained by comparing them with corresponding institutions and phenomena in Great Britain.

The Centenary of the Income Tax.

1942 is the centenary year of the Income Tax in England. It is true that this tax was first introduced in 1799 by William Pitt who was a close student of Adam Smith and it continued till 1816. But it was regarded strictly as a war measure and when the Napoleonic wars were over, there was a hue and cry in the country against the tax. Actually a petition signed by 22,000 merchants, bankers and traders of the London City was submitted and the Government repealed the tax in response to it. So great really was the aversion against this measure that all records of this hated impost were destroyed. More than a quarter of a century passed by before any other attempt was made to revive this tax. Sir Robert Peel was the Prime Minister in 1842 and bent upon fiscal reform as he was he thought that tariff reform should be accompanied by the imposition of a small tax on income and accordingly in that year a tax at the rate of 7*d* in the £ was levied to avoid deficit in the Budget. It should be known that many including Sir Robert himself were of the view that this was only a temporary measure which would be withdrawn as soon as things settled down. But the Crimean War and later other circumstances intervened and income-tax came to stay. So although the tax was first levied in 1799, 1842 may be regarded as the year of its re-birth and the starting point of its gradual development to its present proportions. As already stated the tax was in 1842 very modest, being 7*d* in the £. It was reduced in later years even further. But since the South African War the rate has been climbing higher and higher until today it is 10*s* in the £ (and the maximum sur-tax rate is 9*s*. 6*d*.) Originally the tax was imposed at the flat rate and strictly

on the proportional basis and there was no super-tax, which by the way was imposed first in 1909. In 1842-43 the total income which the tax yielded was only £600,000. Compare this figure with the budget estimate, in 1941-42, of £836 millions. Is it very unnatural that very few have enthusiasm for celebrating the centenary?

What about the Cosgrave Party in Eire?.

Little about Eire is telegraphed by the news agencies today. What we know is that not only Eire is neutral in the present War but, what is more, it is doing everything to maintain this neutrality as strictly as possible. Even in the publication of war news it sees to it that no sides are taken and to this end nothing about war can be published except bulletins prepared by the Government. It was not known if this neutrality of Eire was supported by the Opposition. For long nothing has been heard of Cosgrave and his followers who had ruled the State for ten years before the advent of de Valera to power. Cosgrave was a believer in the treaty of 1921 and had faith in British connection. We may naturally become curious as to what attitude he and his followers would take up towards this question of neutrality. It appears from a news published in the London *Times* quite a long while ago that his party also has fallen in line with de Valera in this regard. Mr. James Dillon, who had been elected Vice-President of Fine Gael, the party led by Cosgrave, was constrained to resign his office because of his advocacy of a closer deal with the United States of America. Cosgrave, in accepting the resignation, pointed out that he and his followers were "animated with feelings of cordial friendship for the U.S.A. but we do not share your views as to how that friendship can be maintained and strengthened."

An Indian Information Officer at Washington.

A message from New Delhi states that an Indian Information Officer will be drafted to Washington from the Supply Department of the Government of India. When Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai went to Washington as Agent General, he was given the services of Mr. Hennessy as Information Officer. This gentleman was the Paris Correspondent of an English daily and from there was imported to New Delhi as the Principal Information Officer to the Government of India. The choice was unfortunate. Indians with greater ability to run the Bureau of Information were available, but Mr. Hennessy was chosen. We do not know of the procedure which was followed in respect of this appointment. Later when he had nearly completed his term of five years, Mr. Hennessy found it possible to secure another contract, this time at Washington. This appointment was more unfortunate still. It is *reductio ad absurdum* for a British journalist to undertake the right kind of publicity in the United States on behalf of India. We do not know anything of the Indian gentleman who is likely to be drafted now to assist Mr. Hennessy, nor do we know anything of the scope which the latter will allow to his Indian subordinate for proper publicity. But an Indian appointment is good at least on principle. More attention should be aroused in this country in regard to the working of the office of Sir Girja Shankar at Washington. Its possibilities for developing more intimate cultural contact between the U.S.A. and India should on no account be minimised.

All-India Motor Union Congress.

Some time ago the fourth session of the All-India Motor Union Congress was held in Poona. It lasted two days. Several resolutions were adopted and some speeches were made thereon. It was emphasised that not only road transport had developed to an enormous extent during recent years but such development was essential in the interests as much of trade and industry as of passenger traffic. It was also pointed out that motor transport was equally indispensable for military reasons. Unfortunately in rail-road competition and rivalry the former had at its disposal the patronage and support of the Government while the latter had none of it. The rationing of patrol on millitary grounds, again, has placed motor transport in an unenviable position. One of the resolutions has, therefore, very pertinently invited the Government to encourage alternative fuels. Another has asked for the amendment of the Motor Vehicles Act. The Indian Motor Union Congress has, as it was expected, been concerned very much with the condition of things today. But it may be well advised to devote its attention and energy to make plans for the development of motor transport after the War is over. It may be mentioned in this connection that in Britain principal road transport interests have decided to set up a post-War reconstruction committee which has been entrusted with the task of evolving plans for road transport development in post-War years.

Is History Still the Biography of Great Men?

Philip Guedalla is a noted British biographer. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that he would try to revive the theory—which appeared to have been exploded—that history was nothing but the biography of great men. Some of the examples he has cited in defence of his theory (or rather the old theory) are telling and it cannot be denied that he has succeeded, in the eyes at least of superficial people, in undermining the new standpoint that the history of a country is the history of its people and not merely of its few top men. He has brought home by his examples that great individuals alone influence the course of history and their lives and achievements may be said to be its chief subject matter. In 1940 there was the same French nation as in 1918, but why was there such difference in its outlook and in its determination? It is explained by the fact that in 1918 Clemenceau was at the head of affairs and in 1940 Marshal Petain. In January, 1940 and in June of the same year the same people inhabited the British Isles, but why was there such a change in their outlook and determination in the latter month? It can be explained, says Guedalla, by the fact that in January Chamberlain and in June Churchill was in the seat of power.

Interchange of Best Books.

Various methods have been adopted for years past for the improvement of relations between the two English-speaking countries of the U.S.A. and Great Britain. One of these methods consists in the interchange of the best fifty books produced in either country. The First Edition Club in England sends every year fifty best books published in the United Kingdom and they are exhibited in the United States by the American Institute of Graphic Arts. The latter again sends to England fifty best American books and they are exhibited in England by the First Edition Club.

" Times " and Cripps' Proposals.

Sir Stafford Cripps definitely pointed out that if the proposals which he was making on behalf of the British War Cabinet were unacceptable to the major Indian parties, they would be withdrawn. Actually they were rejected by all important groups in this country and Sir Stafford had the candour to say that the proposals were being withdrawn. But the London *Times* in a recent issue is reported to have observed that " Great Britain takes her stand firmly on the Cripps' proposals and will not recede from them." Such an assertion will not go unchallenged in this country. The principle of provincial separation and the establishment of rival unions in this country, on which the proposals were based, will be unacceptable to any nationalist group after the War as it was unwelcome to it in April last.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Democracy—Its Failings and Future.—By the Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.C.L., M.A. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 24.

In this pamphlet, the Herbert Spencer Lecture, Oxford, 1941, Viscount Samuel gives a short and masterly analysis of the results of the impact of practical science on the economic and political systems of the West and points out the changes brought about by it in its ethical outlook and in the conduct of war. He then goes on to discuss the extent to which the mistakes of democrats are responsible for the deterioration we see round about us and in doing so is mercilessly logical in the remarks he makes.

It is probably needless to add that only the man who has the necessary imagination and a comprehensive grasp of world problems may be expected to draw within the compass of a little more than a dozen pages so accurate a picture of the present world situation in so many spheres of human activity.

The most valuable section of the lecture to which the former may be regarded as introductory comes towards the end where Viscount Samuel proves beyond any doubt that democracy, with all its weaknesses and shortcomings, is the most satisfactory form of political organisation and concludes by saying that its success must depend ultimately on a wise and educated electorate interested in, and capable of, appreciating the significance and importance of political problems and consciously supporting wise leadership.

In the last two pages, the learned author refers very briefly to the achievements which stand to the credit of democracy and ends by saying that democracy as functioning in England, not content with merely governing an Empire, has set itself the task of training an Empire to become a Commonwealth governing itself.

It is true enough, as we in India are aware, that vested interests have, more than once, utilised their influence to hinder this great work, that selfish politicians have by appeals to national vanity retarded its progress, but there can be little doubt that, on the whole, we have to admit that the conclusions of Viscount Samuel are grounded on actual facts.

In this lecture, Lord Samuel has fully maintained his well-deserved reputation for clarity of vision and wise statesmanship.

H. C. Mookerjee

Sri Aurobindo's "Life Divine": A Brief Study.—By V. Chandrasekharam. Sri Aurobindo Library, Madras. Price Re. 1.

The book under review is a brief commentary on Srijut Aurobindo Ghose's "The Life Divine," which has been published in two ponderous volumes. The author tries to make Aurobindo's cardinal teachings intelligible to the reading public, and we all must be grateful to him. But his occasional effusions will, I am afraid, cast doubt on many minds. To take only one of them, he dubs Sankara "the Acharyya of illusionism." But it seems that the author in his zeal for the reality of the world goes too far. He ought to know better.

A. C. Das

Human Nature.—By Arthur Robson. Adyar. Price Rs. 3-12, 5*s*. 9*d*.

This is an attempt to analyse human nature in its varied phases. The author shows in a very interesting way how our instincts—fear, love, hate, etc.—can be traced to the experiences and behaviour of the animals in relation to their environments. If evolution is a fact, and, if it is true that we human beings are descended from some species of animals, much of what is insisted on therein must be accepted. But the treatment of the problem of sex is inadequate; the author approaches it only from the point of view of physicality and physiology. He has, however, many wise sayings to say in regard to sex-life and all that. His discourses on Karma and spiritual development are illuminating. The book, on the whole, makes interesting reading, and is to be commended to all those who seek for a scientific basis for our Karmic evolution.

A. C. DAS

A New Scheme of Elementary Qualitative Analysis.—By A. J. Mee, M.A., B.Sc. Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London. Pp. 47. Price 1*s*. 6*d*.

It is stated in the preface that the scheme outlined is primarily intended to dispense with the use of hydrogen sulphide. "One part (of this gas) in 30,000 is said to be injurious, and the A. R. P. authorities class it as a poison gas; it has, in fact, been used in warfare. We are assured in the A. R. P. handbook on the subject that a chronic form of poisoning may arise from repeated small doses." While hydrogen sulphide is injurious in appropriate doses generations of chemists do not seem to have suffered by using it under laboratory conditions excepting the cases of freshers and carelessness. The chemist has to use many poisonous and dangerous chemicals. He cannot avoid using them. However, a fully satisfactory alternative to hydrogen sulphide merits consideration and many attempts have been and are being made to achieve this purpose. The main point therefore is whether any of the alternatives proposed so far have been proved to have any net advantage over the existing procedure based on long experience. The answer seems to be in the negative because so far as the reviewer is aware none of the alternative procedures has yet come into general use. The concluding sentence in the first paragraph of the preface implies that the idea of the solubility product is not at all applicable to the precipitation of sulphides. This seems to be a rather sweeping remark which may not be appreciated by the authority who has been quoted in its support. The reviewer does not consider that the omission of the dry tests is justified. As for the scheme itself, it seems to be very carefully worked out and, where availability of hydrogen sulphide is a difficulty, deserves consideration. The reviewer cannot, however, recommend this book for adoption at this stage in the colleges or schools under this University.

J. N. M.

Author Catalogue of Printed Books in European Languages (Imperial Library), Vols. I and II. Published by the Government of India Press, Calcutta. 1941.

The Imperial Library, which is open to members of the public living in all parts of the country, has to maintain both printed and card catalogues.

The Author Catalogue of books which is now published, corrected up to 1939, was first prepared in 1904 under the direction of Mr. John Macfarlane and added to in 1917-18. In a separate volume will be catalogued the journals and other serial publications. We are certain the revised Author Catalogue will be of great use to the reading public.

Memory Hold-The-Door.—By John Buchan. Published by Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London. 1940. Pp. 327.

This is the autobiography of Lord Tweedsmuir, better known as John Buchan, the novelist and historian. The work is not a chronicle of his life and of the events through which he passed. It rather gives us an opportunity to peep into the social and natural background which helped in shaping his mind and outlook on life in different periods of his career in this world. A literary man with considerable reputation for powers of description, he has easily and felicitously described the natural surroundings in which he lived in Scotland in his early life, in Oxford in his University days, in South Africa during his work as an administrator there and in the United States during his travels in that country. He has further depicted the reaction which such natural surroundings had upon his mind and on his intellectual and moral development. He has also delineated with considerable insight the outlook and character of men with whom he came into close and intimate contact during the different periods of his life and the influences which such contact had upon his own thought and ambition.

Son of a presbyterian minister in Scotland, he had his early education in that country, particularly in the University of Glasgow. From there he came to Oxford, his attraction for which was so great and so permanent that he purchased later a country house a few miles from that town so that he might live in close association with men and things of his University. After graduation, he took to law and worked for some time as a junior barrister. But very soon he was attracted like many other brilliant young men of his time by that famous imperialist, Alfred Milner, and followed him to South Africa. He spent three years in that country in an administrative capacity and was during this period in the company of a group of men who had imbibed from Milner a new enthusiasm for the empire in which the sun never set. It may be mentioned that in this group were Geoffrey Dawson (who later became the editor of the *Times* and shaped the imperialist policy of that journal until recently), Hugh Wyndham, R. H. Brand, Philip Kerr (Lord Lothian) and Lionel Curtis who became later the originator of Diarchy in India. On his return from South Africa, he went back to law but not long after he entered business, which career was interrupted by war in which he played a modest part. Later he entered the House of Commons as the representative of the Scottish Universities. It cannot be said that he was a front-bencher there but politics widened the circle of his friends and helped in opening out to him new avenues of service and fame. He was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and served in that capacity for two years. After that he was appointed the Governor-General of Canada and died in harness there.

As it has been pointed already the book is not intended to give details regarding the work which the author did and the offices he held. But it is replete with sketches of a number of great personalities with whom he

was intimate or whom he met in course of his official or literary activties. The sketches of Raymond Asquith (the eldest son of the Prime Minister, who fell in the field of Flanders in the last War), Lord Milner and Ramsay Macdonald may be referred to in this connection. As one may expect, it is one of the readable books published recently.

The British Constitution.—By W. Ivor Jennings. Published by the Cambridge University Press. 1941. Pp. 232+xiv. Price 8s. 6*d*.

During the last one decade several books on the British Constitution have been published. Most of them are by people connected with the London School of Economics. The late Mr. Ramsay Muir gave the start with his critical analysis of the British system of government embodied in "How Britain is Governed." The only other scholar who has made any effective contribution in recent years to the literature on this subject and who is not connected with the London School Economics is Professor A. B. Keith whose book in two volumes is a mine of information. As for the works of those associated with this School we ought to mention the books of Professor Laski, and his three colleagues, *e.g.*, Jennings, Smellie, and Greaves. The publication of this plethora of books on the British Government by British scholars and publicists shows that they are no longer so shy in expressing their views about their own constitutional system as in the days of Lord Bryce who brought out his Modern Democracies without any observations on the British political institutions.

Dr. Jennings was associated with the London School of Economics for over a decade as Reader in English Law in the University of London and has been connected with the Ceylon University College as its Principal for nearly two years now. A barrister of the Gray's Inn, he calls himself a constitutional lawyer and first showed his aptitude for the subject which he has made his own by bringing out his book on Law and the Constitution. Later he dived into the history of the two important factors of the British Government, *e.g.*, the Cabinet and the Parliament and the two bulky volumes which he has written upon them are taken by scholars as of outstanding merit. His energy is almost unlimited and his pen is as facile and restless as that of Professor Laski. Along with several other books and brochures he agreed to write out the work under review. This is in a series of books on English Institutions planned and edited by the late Lord Stamp.

Unlike Muir's *How Britian is Governed* and Laski's *Parliamentary Government*, this small book is mainly descriptive but the description is that of a scholar and not of a parliamentary correspondent of a sensational newspaper. It in fact does not look at the British Government from the Reporters' Gallery but from the crowded desk of a sober and scholarly professor. In the eleven chapters which make up the book the reader does not go through facts which are all of them familiar and rehashed. He meets with many details which are as refreshing as they are unfamiliar. Chapter VI which describes the actual administrative mechanism is particularly interesting and informative.

The relations between the Ministers and the permanent civil servants, which Dr. Jennings describes at length, may be emphasised here, not because he tells us much which is new but because the subject has become important in this country since the introduction of diarchy in the Indian

provinces. The civil servants at Whitehall are under the complete contro of the Ministers who have to take responsibility in the Parliament f or anything done by these subordinates. Sometimes it is not unlikely that civil servants of great experience and occupying positions of great responsibility develop views of their own, which may not tally with those of the Ministers. In such cases either they have to suppress these views or they have to go. Dr. Jennings has referred to Sir Robert (now Lord) Vansittart and Sir Evelyn Murray. The former was the permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the latter Secretary to the Post Office. Sir Robert was found unhelpful and was first "kicked upstairs" as Diplomatic Adviser and later dropped altogether. Sir Evelyn Murray was transferred from the Post Office, as his views proved obstructive to the reforming Minister, Sir Kingsley Wood, to the Board of Customs and Excise. This description of British practice should moderate the zeal of many members of the Indian Civil Service who go over the head of their Honourable Ministers and Members to the Governor or the Governor-General as the case may be.

Dr. Jennings is no supporter of proportional representation. He describes the existing arrangement for representation under which the Liberal Party securing $5\frac{1}{4}$ million votes captures only 58 seats whereas the Labour Party securing $8\frac{1}{4}$ million votes captures 287 seats in the House of Commons. But although the present arrangement is so inequitable, it has to stand, otherwise there is the danger that no party will have a sure majority in the House of Commons and no government sufficiently strong will be constituted. So lest coalition and weak governments may have to be set up, it is regarded as good that the present arrangement of representation, however unjust and inequitable, should continue. Compare this toleration of evil in the interests of effective government in the United Kingdom with the British solicitude for minority interests in this country. The Britishers evidently have two faces—one they turn to their own problems and the other they turn to problems outside the sacred precincts of the British Isles.

As for the House of Lords our learned author, like all progressives, is of the view that it should be abolished. But unlike most labourites he thinks that a second chamber, constituted on other principles, may be substituted for it. In regard to the provision of law that in addition to the Lord Chancellor three members of the Cabinet must be chosen from the House of Lords, Dr. Jennings holds an opinion which may not be shared by many. He thinks that this insistence on the appointment of three Cabinet Ministers from the House of Lords is a handicap to the discharge of business on the right lines. The House of Lords is an anachronism in the present age no doubt. But so long as it is there, it is the second chamber of the legislature and it should be regarded as an important forum of public business, indeed inferior to the House of Commons but still an important forum. But if the Cabinet is not well represented in that body, it ceases to be useful. The questions that are asked will lose their value and the discussions that are carried on will become hollow and unreal in the absence of responsible Ministers of the Crown. In the Dominion of Canada the Cabinet is represented in the Senate usually by only one member. It is that practice more than anything else, which has undermined the prestige of the Senate and made its debates so unattractive. There is a tendency in the Indian provinces also to neglect the upper houses. If they are not necessary, every attempt should be made to abolish them. But so long as they are in existence, we should make the best use of them.

and this can be done by proper attendance of Cabinet Ministers to the questions asked and debates introduced on their floor.

All interested in the British Constitution may read this book with profit.

N. C. R.

Pāntha-Pādap (Traveller's Tree) (A book of sonnets in Bengali).—By Dwijendranath Bhaduri. Published by Messrs. Parag Publishers, 169, Cornawallis Street, Calcutta. D/C. pp. 108. Price Re. 1-8.

The book contains 108 sonnets on various subjects, the nature of the poems being mostly reflective. These are mostly of Petrarchian and Shakespearean forms apart from those of the poet's own. The writer has, in the manner of the great masters, employed forms which are well suited to expression of thoughts in a condensed compass. There is equally evidence of the gift of brevity. He checks down lyrical fervour and takes recourse to suggestiveness here and there, and in the last two couplets in many sonnets, produces an exquisite effect. His well-chosen words are clear-cut and well-defined leaving no room for haziness or doubt.

The book is nicely printed and the get-up is as can be expected.

B. K.

Ourselves

[Vocational Subjects and Matriculation Examination.—II. A New Fellow. —III. Dr. Kamal Krishna Raha Scholarship.—IV. Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy Lectureship.—V. A New D.Sc.—VI. A New Ph.D.—VII. Affiliation of Colleges,]

I. Vocational Subjects and Matriculation Examination

The University has issued a circular to all recognised H.E. Schools in which it has been pointed out that candidates will be allowed to appear at the Matriculation Examination in 1943 and 1944 without a certificate showing that they have received a course of training in Vocational subjects. The circular, however, asks the authorities of these institutions to make every effort to introduce training in one of the Vocational subjects for candidates who will appear in 1945 and in following years.

* * *

II. A New Fellow

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to nominate Mr. A. K. M. Zakariah to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University in place of Dr. Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque. Mr. Zakariah has been attached to the Faculty of Arts.

* * *

III. Dr. Kamal Krishna Raha Scholarship

The University has decided to maintain a scholarship, called Dr. Kamal Krishna Raha Scholarship, to be awarded once every three years to deserving students of the Calcutta University who must be of Bengali parentage. The Scholarship will be tenable for three years and will be awarded to the students for training or research in any one of such subjects as Practical Aeronauotics, Practical Submarine Operation, Practical Military Science, Rural Reconstruction and Manufacture of Handicrafts.

IV. Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy Lectureship

Dr. Arthur Arberry has been appointed Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy Lecturer for 1942 and will deliver a course of lectures on Islamic Mysticism.

* * *

V. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Santiranjan Palit who passed the M.Sc. Examination in Pure Chemistry in 1933 has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. His thesis was entitled "Fundamental Physico-Chemical Studies of Solutions of Resins, Cellulose Derivatives and Soaps" and was examined by Sir Santi Swarup Bhatnagar, Dr. N. R. Dhar and Dr. J. C. Ghosh. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Palit.

* * *

VI. A New Ph.D.

Mr. Nripendranarayan Das who passed the M.A. Examination in Commerce in 1924 has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His thesis was entitled "Some Aspects of the Problem of Protection in India" and was examined by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, Dr. P. C. Basu and Dr. L. C. Jain. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Das.

* * *

VII. Affiliation of Colleges

The Governor is pleased to order that the following colleges have been affiliated in subjects and to the standard noted against their names, with permission to present candidates for the University examinations in those subjects in 1944 and not earlier:

1. Manikganj College, Terasri, Dacca—English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, History, Logic, Mathematics, Civics, Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic and Book-Keeping (I.A. Standard).
2. Narasinha Dutt College, Howrah—Mathematics (B.A. Pass Standard).
3. Srikail College, Tippera—English, Bengali (Vernacular), History, Philosophy, Economics and Mathematics (B.A. Pass Standard).

4. Victoria College, Comilla—Hindu Colonial Expansion and Islam Outside India (I.A. Standard) ; Physics and Chemistry (B.Sc. Pass Standard) ; Mathematics (B.Sc. Honours Standard).

5. Jessore College—English, Bengali (Vernacular and a three-paper subject), History, Economics, Philosophy and Sanskrit (B.A. Pass Standard) ; Commercial Arithmetic and Book-Keeping, Commercial Geography and Bengali (2nd Language) (I.A. Standard).

6. Maharaja Manindrachandra College, Calcutta—Bengali (2nd Language) (I.A. and B.A. Pass Standards).

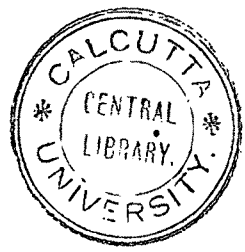
7. Hindu Academy, Daulatpur—Commercial Arithmetic and Book-Keeping, and Commercial Geography (I.A. Standard).

8. Carmichael College, Rangpur—Bengali (2nd Language) (I.A. Standard) ; Economics and History (B.A. Honours Standard).

9. Brajamohan College, Barisal—Commercial Geography, and Arithmetic and Book-Keeping (I.A. Standard) ; Economics (B.A. Honours Standard).

10. Bangabasi College, Calcutta—English Composition, Bengali, Hindi, French, Accountancy, Commercial Law, General Economics, Indian Economics, Business Organisation, Commercial Geography, Advanced Accountancy and Auditing, Banking and Currency (B.Com. Standard).

11. Victoria College, Narail—Civics (I.A. Standard).



THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1942

WAR OF 1914-18 AND THE APPEARANCE OF DISCONTENT—III

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

(IV) DISSATISFACTION OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

IT is a well-known fact that, for nearly half a century after the Mutiny, the Government of India had made vague and half-hearted attempts to "Indianise" the administration. The upper middle classes had entered Government service in increasing numbers. It did not take long for them to find out that they were allowed to reach a certain status, after which their promotion came to an end automatically. Often properly qualified and efficient Indians had to serve as subordinates under less qualified British officers and at lower remunerations—a state of things which has not yet totally disappeared. This obvious injustice naturally enough had the effect of antagonising the educated classes.

So far as the higher ranks in the Army were concerned, these too were closed to the educated middle classes no matter whether they belonged to the so-called martial or non-martial races. When the last War started, Indians were refused access to the commissioned ranks. When Mr. Montagu made his famous declaration on August 20, 1917, it was understood that at last the Army would be thrown open to them and that special facilities for military education and training would be made available. Actual facts, well-known at least

in India, proved later on how sadly the expectations thus raised remained unfulfilled.

The following excerpt from the official publication entitled "India in 1924-25" shows to what extent commissions in the Indian army were made available to educated Indians. "Ten vacancies have been reserved annually at Sandhurst for Indian cadets." A military college with a maximum residential accommodation for seventy boys was established in order to secure a suitable supply of recruits for these vacancies. Dr. V. H. Rutherford in his comments on these steps has said, on page 166 of his "Modern India," that "able mathematicians have calculated . . . that the Indian army may be nationalised (by providing Indian officers only) in 800 years' time."

There were some far-sighted Britons who not only realised the injustice of refusing Indians the opportunity of taking part in the administration of their own country but also the risks attendant on such a policy. From time to time, such people drew the attention of Britain to the desirability of changing the whole policy. Only two such instances, out of many, are referred to below but such well-meant efforts found little response except that the principle of Indianisation was accepted theoretically.

Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India (1876-80), wise in his generation, recognised that the people of the country had to be associated to a larger extent than ever before in at least the civil administration of the country.

W. S. Lilly, in his "India and its Problem" (p. 248), quotes the following lines from his pen:

"The fundamental mistake of able and experienced officials is a belief that we can hold India securely by what they call good government; that is to say, by improving the condition of the ryot, strictly administering justice, spending immense sums on irrigation works, etc. Politically speaking, the Indian peasantry is an inert mass. If it ever moves at all, it will move in obedience, not to its British benefactors, but to its native chiefs and princes, however tyrannical they may be. . . . The Indian chiefs and princes are not a mere noblesse. They are a powerful aristocracy. To secure completely and to efficiently utilise the Indian aristocracy is, I am convinced, the most important problem now before us."

Writing in the late seventies, Lord Lytton did not and could not realise the immense social prestige which the legal system introduced

into India by Britain had conferred on Indian lawyers. Though the Indian lawyers, as a class, can hardly be described as being of aristocratic birth, their clients, who have to depend on them for legal advice and occasionally for financial assistance, can hardly be blamed if they accept their guidance and leadership in politics.

In Chapter XVI of "Memoirs and Letters of Francis W. Newman," edited by I. G. Sieveking, we find certain statements which throw a flood of light on the matter under discussion. This is what is said there:

"Even the slow-moving East does move appreciably in half a century when centres of education are doing their best to train Indians in European ideas of civilisation, in European ideas of government, and of the authority which learning gives. We cannot expect to educate and yet leave those we educate exactly where we find them; for with education comes invariably, inevitably, the growth of ideas planted by it, their growth, and no less invariable fruition. To show some one all that is to be gained by reaching forward, and then to expect him not to reach, but to remain quiescent, is the act of a fool.

". . . It is true that we have done much—very much for India . . . we have lifted her up—yes, but here is where the mental shoe pinches—we have insisted on preventing her from reaching her full stature. We have trained her sons to be able to work side by side with ourselves in various official duties; and then when they are desirous—as is indeed only the inevitable consequence of their education—of entering the lists side by side with Englishmen, they find there is no crossing the Rubicon which officially divides the two nations. . . .

"Whenever the question of co-operation and sympathy comes up, as from time to time it does, between Englishmen and Indians, whether it is fifty or sixty years ago, in Newman's day, or now in the year of grace 1909, with a few honourable exceptions the answer is identically the same. It is practically an unknown quantity. The East and West have not really met. Still the ranks of the service are absorbed by Englishmen; still, as all educated Indians protest, the 'true centre of gravity for India is in London'; still India is unrepresented in . . . Customs, Post, Survey, Telegraph, Excise, etc., and also in the commissioned ranks of the Army; still, because district administration is to all intents and purposes not in existence, there is no compulsory education for boys and girls, though most educated Indians are very strongly in favour of it."

The Islington Commission and Indianisation

The report of the Islington Public Services Commission which had been appointed in 1912 was published late in January, 1917. Among other things, it recommended that a minimum of 75 per cent. of the higher posts should be occupied by non-Indians. It turned down the proposal of holding simultaneous examinations in England and India, reduced the age of the candidates from 22 to 17 by which the chances of success of Indian candidates were diminished and omitted Oriental classics such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian from the list of subjects which could be offered. Worst of all, it recommended that only seven appointments should be competed for in India.

Speaking on the recommendations of this Commission, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, a Moderate, pointed out what would be the effect of accepting its recommendations:

"You talk of discontent, you talk of disaffection . . . do not take measures which will intensify and accentuate that discontent and that disaffection: Do not, for God's sake. Do nothing which will create a greater distrust of the Government of India than even the present arrangements would seem to justify. For, Sir, whether Home Rule comes or not, whether self-government on Colonial lines comes or not, whether it comes in 20 years or 50 years, what we shall feel, what we daily feel is that, whatever may be the future, if you give India a greater share in the higher administration of the country by including a larger number of Indians in the Civil Service, you will make, apart from other questions, you will make your system of government more acceptable than it is."

Unfortunately, no heed was paid to this warning. At the session of the Imperial Legislative Council in September, 1917, Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, in defending the retention of a preponderance of non-Indians said, that "the British character of the administration should be maintained. This factor need not play the determining part but could not be lost sight of, so long as India was an integral part of the Empire. British interests had to be secured."

A statement such as this reminds one of the agitation conducted by Europeans when the Government of Lord Ripon introduced the Ilbert Bill in 1883. It was at that time that the Anglo-Indian Defence Association was organised, that volunteers, all of whom were of

course Europeans, were urged to resign and, according to Dennis Kincaid ("British Social Life in India, 1608-1937," p. 195), "attempts were made to seduce the loyalty of the Army," for which Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali were punished later on. India is not aware that the non-official Europeans who were guilty of the same crime were dealt with similarly.

"The Englishman" of Calcutta, now defunct, the most prominent organ of the non-official European community, threw its columns open to its patrons. The ball was opened by a non-Indian who under the name of "Britannicus" sent in a series of letters, a quotation from the opening paragraph of the first of which is given below:

"The only people who have any right to India are the British; the so-called Indians have no right whatever."

Foreigners of the same type who had settled in China had so completely secured control of the public gardens of Shanghai and other similar ports that it never entered into their heads that the notice which they had put up in them—"No Chinese shall be Admitted Except Servants in Attendance on Foreigners"—was anything out of the common. And yet such people in all gravity draw India's attention to the evils of the caste system and point out how great an impediment it is to the attainment of political freedom. They criticise it because the Brahmin cannot, under its rules, marry the untouchable. And yet, is not the European, man or woman, who marries a Negro or an Indian, ostracised in just the same way that the Brahmin would be outcasted if he marries an untouchable? It never seems to occur to these obviously honest but very obtuse people that it is ridiculous for them to emphasise an evil of this type in India so long as they retain it under another form in their own social organisation.

The above lines were written by Britannicus in 1883 and when we compare the spirit which informs them with that which characterises the statement of Sir William Vincent which appears above, the Indian is compelled to conclude that the only difference between the two is that the former employs more blunt language than the latter.

People holding these views seem unable to realise that the administration of India by foreigners after 150 years of their rule is by itself the strongest indictment against its continuance and the

clearest possible proof against the acceptance of the theory of trusteeship, of which so much is made nowadays as a justification for the presence of non-Indians in our motherland.

India maintained that there was ample justification for the view that many among her children had qualified themselves sufficiently to occupy high and responsible positions. The middle classes whose highest ambition has almost always been to occupy these posts were greatly disappointed by the unbending attitude of Government even when the War was going on.

The opportunity of enlisting the help of the new educated classes, socially and intellectually superior to the older race of clerks who had obediently carried out orders and whose principal if not only recommendation lay in their unfitness for every kind of work except of the routine variety, was not only not utilised but, what is still more regrettable, they were treated with a hostility which a certain section of the British, official and non-official, made not the slightest attempt to conceal.

Causes of Middle Class Discontent

Immediately after the end of the War, H. H. the Aga Khan and Sir Theodore Morrison who, in his own way, was a friend of India suggested that the services of educated Indians could be used profitably in the conquered German colonies in Africa. "The Times" came out with an article in which it was pointed out that the number of educated Indians required for service in their own motherland would be too few in the good times which were coming with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and hence India could not spare them for service outside her own borders.

It was felt that those who were qualified for the higher posts could get opportunities neither in their own country nor outside even when rare opportunities of this kind offered themselves. It was thus that middle class discontent grew by leaps and bounds.

When with every door shut against them, the educated middle classes began to clamour more and more, Government was compelled to recognise the justice of their claims and it was admitted in paragraph 182 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that "the charge that Government has produced a large intelligentsia which cannot find employment has much substance in it." It went to the

root of the matter when it admitted in paragraph 187 that "mere education without opportunities must result in serious mischief."

In paragraph 313 of the same Report, we are told that the great weakness of public life in India is the lack of anything like an adequate number of trained administrators and that the successful operation of any political concessions made to India would largely depend on the extent to which Indians could be associated in every branch of the administration While this was heartening news to the intelligentsia, it was told almost in the same breath in paragraph 323 that "a substantial element of Englishmen must remain and must be secured both in her (India's) government and in her public service" and therefore 33 per cent. of the superior posts only would be thrown open to Indians, which was certainly an improvement on the recommendation of the Islington Commission.

The middle class intelligentsia rendered inconsiderate by purely selfish motives could not see that Indianisation on account of the existing situation could not be accomplished in a single day and that the process must be a gradual one. Here it was unjust but it was on much firmer ground when it maintained that, but for the selfishness of the rulers, it would have already made such headway that Indianisation would have been completed or almost completed by the time the matter had been discussed in the Report.

The failure on the part of the British administration to associate, to any appreciable extent, the new progressive, intelligent and educated classes in the government of the country or to provide suitable openings for their children either in the administration itself or in industries and commerce started under Government supervision and control, had the effect of antagonising a majority of Indians who were influential or articulate.

Discontented with the existing political system which, in their view, was responsible for much, if not all, their miseries, these educated unemployed people took an increasingly active part in the nationalistic movement in the hope that greater political power vested in Indian hands would mean more numerous openings for them.

(V) THE ALIENATION OF THE MASSES

It is universally acknowledged that the poverty of India is a perennial fact and that its population consists of agriculturists and landless labourers permanently in debt whose average income may,

on a generous estimate, be placed at not more than £3 per annum. These people have to be content with a bare existence and have thus no margin to meet the stress of hard times. Mahatma Gandhi realised this fact when he said, "98% of the population are ill-fed ; their lives are a long-drawn struggle." In view of their deplorable economic condition, it does not require much imagination to realise how heavily the burden of war pressed on them.

Enormous quantities of food-stuffs consumed by these people in normal times had to be exported in order to feed the armies in active service, while every commodity and raw material which could be used for military purposes was practically monopolised by Government. Transport difficulties prevented the import of such cheap and simple manufactured and other commodities as were used by them and which came from outside India. They were also responsible for the restricted movement, inside India, of articles which, produced in one part, were consumed in other parts of our motherland.

From 1917 onwards, scarcity and occasionally even famine conditions appeared in large areas in India and very high prices prevailed. The market for such commodities as were produced by the agriculturists tended to become more and more limited. This, owing to the failure of the monsoon, coincided with a smaller amount available for sale, thus limiting still further their capacity to pay cash for the purchase of such articles as were consumed by them. Profiteering, which made its appearance immediately after the War had broken out, worsened the situation. Lastly, the influenza epidemic which caused between 12 to 13 million deaths complicated the situation still further.

During the War, the British commercial community had speculated heavily and, on the whole, had done rather well. European industry had been content to put all, or nearly all, the profits of the war period into the pockets of its share holders, who were generally non-Indians. These people and that small number among Indian industrialists who had prospered during the War were so short-sighted as to refuse to treat labour fairly.

Government after much delay did take steps to ease the situation but these were belated and not sufficiently effective. The result of all this was that agrarian and industrial unrest manifested itself.

It has been shown elsewhere how economic distress had almost insensibly induced the discontented masses to seek a solution and how

in three instances—at Champaran in Bihar, at Kaira in Gujerat and at Ahmedabad also in Gujerat—Mahatma Gandhi had put before them a technique to solve their difficulties. It has also been pointed out how they had at last taken to participation in active politics, as at the Delhi session of the Congress in 1918, as a means of finding a way out of their miseries. This change had come over them because they had gradually lost faith in Government.

It is quite true that there was a time when the masses turned almost instinctively to the Sirkar—that is, Government—for redressing their grievances. This child-like faith in its ability and willingness to afford relief was lost when they came to realise that it was pre-occupied to such an extent with conducting the War to a successful issue that it found itself unable to pay its attention to any other problem, however pressing.

Sir William Meyer was in charge of the finances of India during the War when its exigencies were responsible for a change in our taxation system. Very high eulogies were paid to him on account of the efficiency which had characterised his administration of this department. An eminent Indian publicist who was also an economist contributed early in 1918 an article entitled "Sir William Meyer's Services to India" to the "New India." The following is a very inadequate summary of his findings. The present writer assures his readers that he has examined the statistical and other data on which the conclusions are based and that, so far as he can judge, they are warranted by them.

During the five years that Sir William was in charge of our finances, the revenues of India increased nearly to the extent of £22 million, half of which was received through additional taxation. The increase in the Indian revenue was about 25 per cent., to which there had been no parallel up to that time. 16 out of the £22 million thus obtained were utilised to meet the expenditure incurred as the result of the War. Out of the balance of £6 million nearly half was not earmarked for any department. Nearly £2½ million were spent on the Executive Departments and not even half a million was allotted for education during the five years of his tenure of this office. It, therefore, follows that, from one point of view, not even 2 per cent. of the amount received mainly from the illiterate Indian tax-payer was returned to him in the shape of increased grants for any progressive nation-building department.

The comment of the writer of the article referred to above is as follows

" We know how in other countries, where the exactions of war have been far more severe, millions have been given as increased grants for education ; but in India where the demands of the educational or agricultural or sanitary departments are from any standpoint far more pressing, the Finance Member has not found it possible to give even half a million sterling in the course of five years, and that when he has raised from the people far more money than was necessary even for war purposes ! "

It is true enough that the masses were quite unable to realise fully the indifference to their interests betrayed by the way in which the finances of India had been administered by Sir William Meyer. But many among the politically minded educated members of the middle classes could do so and some among them at any rate did not forget to explain to the masses the conclusions at which they had arrived and their reasons for doing so. Once the facts were revealed to them, the latter did not fail to resent this state of affairs and this certainly did not call forth comments favourable to the British administration.

It was thus that the political training the masses received in this and similar other circumstances opened their eyes to the desirability of India's acquiring a greater control over her domestic affairs. Rightly or wrongly they felt, perhaps in a very dim and uncertain way, that there might be some improvement in their lot if their countrymen, their own flesh and blood, had more power, for they hoped that they would show a greater consideration for their interests than an alien administration, which was supposed to be concerned more with maintaining itself in power than with utilising the resources at its command for the benefit of the people it ruled.

In the mean time, the progressive elements among the middle classes, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, had established closer relationships with the masses and were both willing and able to give the necessary leadership even when doing so implied sufferings and hardships. This touched their imagination to the extent that, from that time onward, a majority among them looked to their own countrymen to remove their difficulties. These too did not fail to give them an idea of the extreme slowness with which the British

Government had taken steps for their removal and the unwisdom of depending on it any longer for the purpose.

With the realisation of these facts, the masses were prepared to lend their support to any movement which, in their view, held out prospects of an amelioration in their miserable condition. The gospel of Swaraj preached by the Congress through the inspiration of Gandhiji came to have a mystical significance for them. They thought that, along with other things about which they had very vague ideas, it included freedom from their miseries.

AUSTIN AND THE BASIS OF OBEDIENCE TO LAW

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I propose to examine in this paper Austin's view on the basis of obedience to law.

In his *Introduction*[1] to the Second Edition of his celebrated work *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, Bernard Bosanquet has remarked:

"Austinian sovereignty is based on the idea of force; sovereignty in our sense is based on the will of the whole."

And in a foot-note[2] to this remark he has noted with approval:

"'Will, not Force is the basis of the state' is T. H. Green's well-known principle."

We also find in Sidgwick's *Elements of Politics*:[3]

"In what Austin and his followers say of 'habitual obedience,' *it seems often to be tacitly implied*[4] that such obedience is unconditional, or at least not definitely limited by generally recognised conditions: but as a matter of fact it has been so limited in European countries during the greater part of their history, and in most important ways."

And Professor Garner[5] has observed, while dealing with Austin's Theory of Sovereignty:

"Austin's chief error consisted in unduly emphasizing the purely legal aspects of sovereignty, and in ignoring the forces and influences which lie back of the formal law—a very natural mistake for a lawyer to make."

Lastly, we may mention in this connexion the name of Professor MacIver. Referring to what he has called "the whole school of Hobbes and Bentham and Austin", he has said[6]:—

"They interpret sovereignty as an extreme master-servant relationship, but their account is far more applicable to a slave plantation or to a menagerie than to the actuality of political life."

1 Page lv. 2 *Ibid.* 3 Page 653 (Third Edition, 1908).

4 The italics are mine.

5 *Political Science and Government*, p. 181; also *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 271. Also see in this connexion Stephen Leacock, *Elements of Political Science*, 1921, pp. 54-58.

6 See MacIver, *The Modern State*, p. 14.

Such criticisms of the Austinian Theory of Sovereignty have, directly or impliedly, been made also by other writers.[7] It appears to me, however, that criticisms of this nature have been due to an inadequate appreciation and sometimes even, as we shall shortly see, a misinterpretation of the view of Austin, and that, therefore, the critics who have made such criticisms, have not done justice to this great jurist. I shall make an attempt in this paper to establish this point.

As is well-known, Austin has expressed his "notions of sovereignty and independent political society" as follows[8]:

"If a *determinate* human superior, *not* in a habit of obedience to a like superior, receive *habitual* obedience from the *bulk* of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society, and the society (including the superior) is a society political and independent.

"To that determinate superior, the other members of the society are *subject*: or on that determinate superior, the other members of the society are *dependent*. The position of its other members towards that determinate superior, is *a state of subjection*, or *a state of dependence*. The mutual relation which subsists between that superior and them, may be styled *the relation of sovereign and subject*, or *the relation of sovereignty and subjection*."

Further, he has observed[9]: "In order that a given society may form a society, political and independent, the two distinguishing marks which I have mentioned above must unite. *The generality* of the given society must be in the *habit* of obedience to a *determinate* and *common* superior: whilst that determinate person, or determinate body of persons must *not* be habitually obedient to a determinate person or body. It is the union of that positive, with this negative mark, which renders that certain superior sovereign or supreme, and which renders that given society (including that certain superior) a society political and independent."

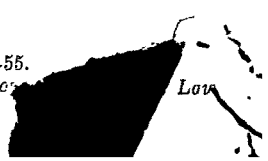
In case, however, Austin has also remarked,[10] "the generality of its members obey a determinate superior, but the obedience be rare or transient and not habitual or permanent, the relation of sovereignty and subjection is not created thereby between that certain superior

[7] See, for instance, Laski, A Grammar of Politics, 1928, pp. 49-55.

[8] See John Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence* or *The Philo[illegible]* Fifth Edition (Robert Campbell), 1911, Vol. I, pp. 221, Lecture VI.

[9] See Austin, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-22.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 222.



and the members of that given society. In other words, that determinate superior and the members of that given society do not become thereby an independent political society."

Lastly, he has said[11]: "In order that a given society may form a society political, habitual obedience must be rendered, by the *generality* or *bulk* of its members, to a determinate and *common* superior. In other words, habitual obedience must be rendered, by the *generality* or *bulk* of its members, to *one* and the same determinate person, or determinate body of persons." If, however, habitual obedience is not so rendered, "the given society is either in a state of nature, or is split into two or more independent political societies."[12]

And his definition of law[13] is:

"Every positive law, or every law simply and strictly so called, is set by a sovereign person, or a sovereign body of persons, to a member or members of the independent political society wherein that person or body is sovereign or supreme. Or (changing the expression) it is set by a monarch, or sovereign member, to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author. Even though it sprung directly from another fountain or source, it *is* a positive law, or a law strictly so called, by the institution of that present sovereign in the character of political superior. Or (borrowing the language of Hobbes) 'the legislator is he, not by whose authority the law was first made, but by whose authority it continues to be a law.'"

So far Austin has dealt with the questions of "sovereignty," "independent political society" and "law" as a lawyer. And if he had simply stopped with the analysis of these juristic concepts, there might have been some justification for the criticisms referred to in the earlier part of this paper. But he has gone much further than giving us a mere analysis of those concepts, and certainly shown, as a utilitarian jurist, "the forces and influences which lie back of the formal law." This will be clear from what follows.

"To complete," says[13a] Austin in the course of the same Lecture[14] on Jurisprudence from which we have made the above extracts, "my intended disquisition on the nature or essence of sovereignty, and of the independent political society that sovereignty implies, I proceed to the origin or causes of the habitual or permanent obedience,

[illegible] *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

[illegible] Positive

[14] *I.e.*, Lecture VI—see Austin, *op. cit.*

which, in every society political and independent, is rendered by the bulk of the community to the monarch or sovereign number. In other words, I proceed to the origin or causes of political government and society." He then in effect asks: What is "the proper purpose or end of a sovereign political government, or the purpose or end for which it ought to exist?" [15] And his reply [16] is: "The greatest possible advancement of human happiness. Though, if it would duly accomplish its proper purpose or end, or advance as far as is possible the weal or good of mankind, it commonly must labour directly and particularly to advance as far as is possible the weal of its own community." "The good of the universal society formed by mankind," he continues, [17] "is the aggregate good of the particular societies into which mankind is divided: just as the happiness of any of those societies is the aggregate happiness of its single or individual members. Though, then the weal of mankind is the proper object of a government, or though the test of its conduct is the principle of general utility, it commonly ought to consult directly and particularly the weal of the particular community which the Deity has committed to its rule." [18]

Austin next explains the causes of the habitual obedience which is paid to the sovereign by the bulk of an enlightened society. "Supposing," he says, [19] "that a given society were adequately instructed or enlightened, the habitual obedience to its government which was rendered by the bulk of the community, would exclusively arise from reasons bottomed in the principle of utility. If they thought the government perfect, or that the government accomplished perfectly its proper purpose or end, this their conviction or opinion would be their motive to obey. If they deemed the government faulty, a fear that the evil of resistance might surpass the evil of obedience, would be their inducement to submit; for they would not persist in their obedience to a government which they deemed imperfect, if they thought that a better government might probably

[15] See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.
[18] Also—
"The proper purpose or end of a sovereign political government, or the purpose or end for which it ought to exist, is conceived inadequately, or is conceived obscurely, by most or many of the speculators on political government and society.
"To advance as far as is possible the weal or good of mankind, is more generally but more vaguely its proper purpose or end: To advance as far as is possible the weal of its own community, is more particularly and more determinately the purpose or end for which it ought to exist.—*Ibid.*, p. 291, foot-note.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 293-94.

be got by resistance, and that the probable good of the change outweighed its probable mischief."

Since, however, every actual society is "inadequately instructed or enlightened, the habitual obedience to its government which is rendered by the bulk of the community, is," Austin admits,[20] "partly the consequence of custom." That is to say, they "partly pay that obedience to that present or established government, because they, and perhaps their ancestors, *have been in the habit of obeying it.*" Or, Austin also admits,[21] the habitual obedience to the government which is rendered by the bulk of the community, is "partly the consequence of prejudices." And by "prejudices" here he means "opinions and sentiments which have no foundation whatever in the principle of general utility." But although that habitual obedience is, adds[22] Austin, "partly the consequence of custom," or although it is "partly the consequence of prejudices," it also partly "*arises from a reason bottomed in the principle of utility.*"[23] That is to say, it "partly arises from a perception, by the generality or bulk of the community, of *the expediency of political government*[24]: or (changing the phrase) it partly arises from a preference, by the generality or bulk of the community, of any government to anarchy."[25] Reiterating this point, he observes[26]:

"The habitual obedience to the government which is rendered by the bulk of the community, partly arises, therefore, in almost every society, from the cause which I now have described: namely, a perception, by the bulk of the community, of the utility of political government, or a preference, by the bulk of the community, of any government to anarchy. And this is the only cause of the habitual obedience in question, which is common to all societies, or nearly all societies. It therefore is the only cause of the habitual obedience in question, which the present general disquisition can properly embrace."

Moreover, the permanence of every government, remarks[27] Austin, "depends on the habitual obedience which it receives from the bulk of the community." For, he continues,[28] "if the bulk of the community were fully determined to destroy it, and to brave and endure the evils through which they must pass to their object, the might of the government itself, with the might of the minority attached to it, would scarcely suffice to preserve it, or even to retard

[20] See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 294. [21] *Ibid.*, p. 294. [22] *Ibid.*, p. 294.
[23] The italics are mine. [24] The italics are mine. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 294
[26] *Ibid.*, p 295. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 296 [28] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

its subversion."[29] And even if it "were aided by foreign governments, and therefore were more than a match for the disaffected and rebellious people, it hardly could reduce them to subjection, or constrain them to permanent obedience, in case they hated it mortally, and were prepared to resist it to the death."[30] All obedience, therefore, according to Austin,[31] "is *voluntary or free*," and "every party who obeys *consents* to obey." In other words, says[32] he, "every party who obeys *wills* the obedience which he renders, or is determined to render it by some *motive* or another." And "that acquiescence which is purely involuntary or which is purely the consequence of physical compulsion or restraint, is not obedience or submission."[33]

In conclusion, Austin observes[34] that, since "a government continues through the obedience of the people, and since the obedience of the people is voluntary or free, every government continues through the *consent* of the people, or the bulk of the political society . . . and that, if the bulk of the community ceased to obey it habitually the government would cease to exist."

It is evident from what has been shown above that, according to Austin, the basis of Government is its utility and not force, and that "every government continues through the *consent* of the people, or the bulk of the political society." There is, therefore, hardly any difference in essence between his view and that of T. H. Green who also maintains that "will, not force, is the basis of the State."[35] Nor do I find any essential difference between the view of Austin and that of Rousseau so far as the basis and the object of a political society are concerned. What Rousseau has meant by his doctrine of the general will is always implied, non-essentials apart, by what Austin considers to be the proper purpose or end of a sovereign political society, namely, the greatest possible advancement of human happiness. Yet, strangely enough, so acute a political thinker as T. H. Green

[29] Also—

"In all or most cases of human superiority, the relation of superior and inferior, and the relation of inferior and superior, are reciprocal. Or (changing the expression) the party who is the superior as viewed from one aspect, is the inferior as viewed from another.

"For example, To an indefinite, though limited extent, the monarch is the superior of the governed: his power being commonly sufficient to enforce compliance with his will. But the governed, collectively or in mass, are also the superior of the monarch: who is checked in the abuse of his might by his fear of exciting their anger; and of rousing to active resistance the might which slumbers in the multitude."—From Austin's first Lecture on Jurisprudence. See Austin, *op cit.*, p. 97.

[30] *Ibid*, p. 296. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 296. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 296. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[35] See T. H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, Longmans, 1913, Chapter G.

has, while contrasting the view of Austin with that of Rousseau, observed[36] that Austin's doctrine "considers the essence of sovereignty to lie in the power," on the part of a determinate human superior, "to put compulsion without limit on subjects, to make them do exactly as it pleases." Further, he has said[37] "that in those states of society in which obedience is habitually rendered by the bulk of society to some determinate superior, single or corporate, who, in turn, is independent of any other superior, the obedience is so rendered because this determinate superior is regarded as expressing or embodying what may properly be called the general will, and is virtually conditional upon the fact that the superior is so regarded;" and that "it is by no means an unlimited power of compulsion that the superior exercises, but one dependent in the long run, or dependent for the purpose of insuring an *habitual* obedience, upon conformity to certain convictions on the part of the subjects as to what is for their general interest." Lastly he has remarked[38] that it "may fairly be held that the ostensible sovereign—the determinate person or persons to whom we can point and say that with him or them lies the ultimate power of exacting habitual obedience from the people—is only able to exercise this power in virtue of an assent on the part of the people, nor is this assent reducible to the fear of the sovereign felt by each individual." It is rather "a common desire for certain ends—specially the 'pax vitaeque securitias'—to which the observance of law or established usage contributes, and in most cases implies no conscious reference on the part of those whom it influences to any supreme coercive power at all."[39] And "let this sense or desire—which may properly be called general will—cease to operate, or let it come into general conflict with the sovereign's commands," "the habitual obedience will cease also."[40] Green's implication is that, according to the Austinians—and by this expression he means[41] those[42] who adopt the Austinian definition of a sovereign,—'the sovereign, with the coercive power (*i.e.*, the power of operating on the fears of the subjects) which it exercises, is the real determinant of the habitual obedience of the people, at any rate of their habitual obedience in respect of those acts and forbearances which are prescribed by law.'[43] But, as we have shown before, this was not the view of Austin himself,

[36] Green, *op. cit.*, para. 83. [37] *Ibid.*, para. 81. [38] *Ibid.*, para. 84.
[39] *Ibid.*, para. 84. [40] *Ibid.*, para 81 [41] *Ibid.*, paras. 85 86
[42] And Austin himself was one amongst them. [43] *Ibid.*, para. 86.

although it may be admitted that some[44] of those who professed to be his followers, may have held this view. Green appears, therefore, to have misunderstood Austin, and this misunderstanding was probably due to the misstatement[45]—rather the "perversion" as Prof. Dewey[46] has aptly remarked—of Austin's Theory of Sovereignty by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, which Green has quoted[47] as a foot-note to his discourse on "Sovereignty and the General Will," presumably assuming it to have been a correct interpretation of the Austinian theory. The misunderstanding may also have been caused by the misinterpretation of Austin by some other writers[48] who professed to be his followers. But that is a different matter, and we should not attribute to Austin any view which he himself did not actually hold.

I may, therefore, conclude that, although Austin's Theory of Sovereignty might be open to criticism in some other respects—and it is not my object in this paper to deal with them—it is not really correct to state, in view of what I have shown above, that, in enunciating his theory, he based sovereignty "on the idea of force" and the habitual obedience to the commands of a sovereign, on the part of the bulk of his subjects, on a sense of fear; or that he ignored "the forces and influences that lie back of the formal law." Nor do I think, for the same reasons, that it is fair to say that the conception of sovereignty associated with *his* name, at least, is "far more applicable to a slave plantation or to a menagerie than to the actuality of political life."

[44] For instance, Sir George Cornewall Lewis. He has said:—"As long as a government exists, the power of the person or persons in whom the sovereignty resides, over the whole community, is absolute and unlimited. The sovereign has the complete disposal of the life rights and duties of every member of the community." See George Cornewall Lewis' *Remarks on the Use and Abuse of some Political Terms*, New Edition (Thomas Raleigh., Oxford, 1898, p. 41; also see page 12 of this work. Also see in this connexion Prof. John Dewey's article entitled "Austin's Theory of Sovereignty" in *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 9, 1894, pp. 31-52.

[45] Sir Henry Maine has represented Austin's Theory of Sovereignty as follows:

"There is, in every independent political community—that is, in every political community not in the habit of obedience to a superior above itself—some single person or some combination of persons which has the power of compelling the other members of the community to do exactly as it pleases.....This Sovereign, this person, or combination of persons universally occurring in all independent political communities, has in all such communities one characteristic, common to all the shapes Sovereignty may take, *the possession of irresistible force, not necessarily exerted but capable of being exerted* .....That which all the forms of Sovereignty have in common is the power (the power but not necessarily the will) *to put compulsion without limit on subjects or fellow-subjects.*" (The italics are mine.) See Maine, *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, Second Impression of the 7th Edition, Murray, 1905, pp. 349-50; also Dewey's article in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 9, 1894, already referred to.

[46] See his article entitled "Austin's Theory of Sovereignty" in *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 9, 1894.

[47] See Green, *Principles of Political Obligation*, Longmans, 1913, p. 95, foot-note.

[48] For instance, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, already referred to.

WORLD-WAR II AS A PHASE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR BETWEEN GERMANY AND ENGLAND

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF BLITZKRIEG

WITH the German occupation of the Kerch Peninsula (Crimea) the second phase of World-War II is reported to be commencing. A layman that I am, it appears to me that Germany has required rather too long a rest for recuperation from her winter hardships. For over five months and a half from the first week of December, 1941, her tactics have been those of a defensive war on the Russian soil. It has not been possible for her to start the offensive until spring is almost over and *sommer ist ykommen*. The world may suspect that perhaps Germany's measure has been found. Her power is most probably just enough to keep entire European continent under her knees up to the limits attained by her until today. Her " thus far and no farther " may have been reached. The uptodate expansion of Germany is, no doubt, an unthinkably tremendous achievement for any people consummated during two years and three quarters (September, 1939—May, 1942). Napoleon has been out-Napoleoned.

Germany's enemies, however, have not been sleeping during this entire period. They have been withdrawing and retreating, retreating and withdrawing, as the whole world sees quite clearly. But they are resourceful peoples and peoples of the same race, culture and standard of life as Germans themselves. Even supposing they were unprepared at, say, O in September, 1939, it is possible to conceive that they have been equipping themselves in every possible arm during the period of their withdrawals and German conquests. In case today Germany should find herself at the zenith of her expansion it is not unlikely that her enemies who had been up till now inferior to her in war equipment of all categories have already attained parity or near-parity with her. In May, 1942, then, Germany faces enemies who are perhaps almost as prepared as herself. From now on the armageddon bids fair to proceed not between a superior and an inferior, but virtually between two equals.

It may not be inconceivable, therefore, that in future the progress of equipment on the two sides will be at par.

One cannot altogether rule out the consideration that German preparations are even outdistanced by the Anglo-American by 1943-44. In the event of another three years' struggle developing itself before us Germany's chances may not therefore have to be calculated on the experience of the period until today. The rather unusually lengthy inactivity of Germany on all fronts in the middle of May, 1942, bespeaks perhaps the attainment of the saturation-point in her expansion or, may be, excessive exhaustion and already the beginning of her decline in the present enterprise.

In German strategy the fundamental defect arises from her faith in and dependence on *Blitz* (lightning, quick, mobile) operations. She is perhaps relatively ill-equipped for *Sitz* (sitting, static, stationary) warfare. In order to be successful the *Blitz* must stun the enemy all of a sudden and shatter him to pieces so that he is compelled to go out of the war picture. But if the enemy persists in its war moods and activities in spite of losses the *Blitz* is to be taken as a failure. After that we see nothing but the orthodox and humdrum warfare of the tame, traditional type. In such *Sitz* warfares the party that has " staying power " is likely to win. This implies a long period enterprise.

Those who point to and wonder at the *Blitz* victories of Germany during the present war neglect as a rule to note the failure of her *Blitz* in a large number of theatres. Poland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, France, Jugoslovia and Greece are all instances of success by *Blitz*. But *Blitz* has failed in England. Germany's air-bombs could not rub London out of existence. The invasion of the British Isles has not materialized. Germany failed to block the Atlantic and cut the British people off from the U.S. She has destroyed many of the industrial and military objectives in London and in numerous counties, ports and harbours of the British Isles. She has likewise sunk a very large percentage of British merchant marine on the high seas, compelling her enemies, among other things, to drastically ration their daily food. But these destructions have failed to compel the British people to abandon the " will to war," to use an expression from von Clausewitz, the German philosopher of war. Here, then, we encounter the first great failure of German *Blitz*.

In the second place, German *Blitz* has failed to master Libya and seize the Suez or occupy Egypt. The North African campaign has been but an instance of marking time and checking enemy's advance.

Thirdly, Germany raised hopes in Iraq and Iran but has failed to fulfil them. Nay, her defeat in these regions, diplomatic although, is overwhelming and tragic. In the fourth place, Syria has likewise been nothing but a theatre of dismal failure. Fifthly, she has failed to enable her Italian ally to preserve the Abyssinian and East African empires.

Last but not least, Russia has presented a most obstinate front to Germany's *Blitz* expansion. To say that in 1941 from June 22 to November 30, Germany occupied hundreds of miles from West to East and North to South on the Russian sub-continent and that during the period down to May 18, 1942, she has been commanding most of those conquests without much withdrawal does not bespeak *Blitz* victory. She could not attain her objectives,—the Urals, the Caspian and the Caucasus. She has failed to stun Russia into submission and abolish the communistic regime. The Russian army's " will to war " and will to victory are as fresh today as ever. This must be treated as Germany's failure in Russia in spite of super-Napoleonic conquests over there.

The category, " failure," is to be understood in all these instances as implying the inability to accomplish what Germany wanted to do. These situations are all set-backs in reality and positive hindrances to the realization of her goal,—although formally they may look like conquests in far-off regions or territorial expansions. Such conquests do not lead to victory.

In May 1942, these failures of Germany since September, 1939, should have to be listed by the student of social science while appraising her victories and forecasting her potentialities for the near future. In the same context it should be necessary to observe, for scientific purposes, that the victories of Germany such as she has won up till now are not to be attributed exclusively to her own power. In the first place, the contributions of Italy, especially of the Italian navy, should have to be singled out as a most helpful factor in the Mediterranean and South-Eastern Europe. As a rule, it is the custom to laugh Italy out of the arena. But the British navy, air force and general staff perhaps would not deny Italy, after the war is over, the credit that she deserves for obstructing British operations in Northern Africa and Southern Europe. In the second place, the student of science should have to see the rôle of Japan in German victories on the European continent. From September, 1939 to December 7, 1941, when Japan directly involved herself in the war, she was, as a member of the

" Triangle " (the Axis), the guardian of German and Italian interests in the Pacific and the Far East, nay, in entire world from the American to the African coasts. This did not necessitate any active participation of Japan in war-like operations against the British Empire or its allies. But these latter were compelled to reserve a substantial part of their resources in these Japan-guarded areas as precautionary measures. This diversion of resources from the European and the Atlantic theatres led to a relative weakening of the British and allied forces *vis-à-vis* Germany. Japan's contributions to German victories were, obviously enough, substantial. They are continuing still.

Be it observed incidentally that they should have to be balanced against Germany's contributions to Japanese victories in Asia since December 7, 1941. Had there been no German activities in the European, Atlantic and Mediterranean theatres the Anglo-American navies could have functioned more freely and liberally in the Pacific and the Indian, thereby militating considerably against the adventures of Japan. The success achieved by each has to be attributed in a large measure to the effective alliance,—although indirect for the time being,—between the two powers.

The Fundamental Strategy of the Second Half of World-War II

Be this as it may, the first half of World-War II is perhaps over. We are now at the commencement of the second half. The Anglo-American empires look already somewhat prepared. One cannot be positively sure that the possibilities of *Blitz*, from the German side, are great. In the main it seems now to be a question of *Sitz*, sitting, static, or stationary operations. The prospects of the second half may now be indicated in a few words. We may look upon it as almost a new war in which both the parties hold forth as fresh or refreshed combatants. Exactly which party is going to take the offensive and what form of offensive—*Blitz* or *Sitz*—it is likely to be remains to be seen. Besides, the Russian war-machine is virtually German in technique and organization and may be expected to exhibit quite a few Germanisms in strategy and tactics.[1] Beatings are likely to be mutual.

[1] *Re* German principles of the Russian war mechanism, see B. K. Sarkar, *Villages and Town as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), pp. 605-06, and *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. II, Part II (Lahore, 1942), pp. 391-92, 452.

At the start, the situation is as follows. Japan is master of virtually the whole of Burma and is trying her bombs on the easternmost parts of Bengal, Manipur and Assam in India. Chittagong (Bengal) has experienced several air attacks and perhaps invasion. Japan has also occupied entire Burma-China Road and penetrated over two hundred miles into China. In Europe Germany is tenaciously holding on to her Russian conquests. These extend from Leningrad and Ladoga to Briansk, Taganrog and the Crimea. Within the last few days she is reported to have occupied the Kerch sector of the Crimean Peninsula. In spite of all this the war-situation is strategically favourable, in my judgment, to the Anglo-American bloc in the third week of May, 1942.

My analysis is not dominated by the experience of the first half of the present war. It is based on the presence of altogether new conditions in resources and on their impacts on the comparative "staying power" of the two sides with a view to long period hostilities. In the second phase we are virtually to witness an almost entirely new war.

The weaknesses of Germany and Japan in view of a somewhat long war of the *Sitz* type (down to, say, 1945) lie on the surface. Germany and Japan possess no territorial (land and/or water) contacts with each other.[1] They cannot possibly dream of winning in this war until and unless the material, technical and human resources of the two powers can supplement and support each other regularly and systematically from day to day. For the present they constitute two disjointed halves without the remotest possibilities of direct and visible collaboration.

Another weakness is not obvious but none the less considerable and damaging in effects. It belongs to the political *milieu*. Germany, as an exponent or embodiment of albinocracy or white prestige, may not have genuine sympathy with her ally, the non-white Japan's phenomenal three-dimensioned triumphs over white empires in Asia. The restoration of Asians to freedom from the thraldom of Eur-American albinocracy under Japanese auspices or, at any rate, the expulsion of the whites from Asia by Japan is something which may not lead Germany to enthuse over the quickest and most effective collaboration with her Asian partner.

It is questionable if Germany can ever be interested in the annihilation of Eur-American empires in Asia by an Asian power. What Germany wants is just an empire for herself, perhaps at least as great

[1] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II (1942), pp. 450-51, 467-68, Part III (1942), pp. 285, 323.

as that of France, nay, of England. In case she can bring the British empire down to the level of the French as the latter was *vis-à-vis* the British at the end of the Napoleonic wars Germany's ambitions are likely to be satiated. But that does not mean the total overthrow of the British or other white empires in Asia and Africa, as Japan has been consummating. It is clear that Germany has caught a Tartar in her Japanese ally. The German-Japanese alliance may prove to be more a weakness than a strength on account of mutual suspicions.[1]

The Anglo-American bloc is, on the contrary, a physically solid, territorially contiguous theatre of material, technical and human co-operation. In the first place, Russia is the direct neighbour of China, China is the direct neighbour of India, and India is the direct neighbour of Russia and is indirectly connected with her *via* Afghanistan and Iran. Communications,—China-India (Assam-China, Bengal-Tibet-China), India-Afghanistan-Russia, India-Iran-Russia, and Russia-China,—are already in existence although not well-developed and efficient, but new ones may be projected and the old ones improved for a long period enterprise. Secondly, Russia's contacts with England and the U.S.A. by the Arctic Ocean are functioning in spite of German submarines. Besides, India's and Russia's intercourse with Australia, South Africa, England and the U.S.A. by the Indian, the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans can hardly ever be hundred per cent. blocked by the Japanese navy and the German U-boats. As long as the Anglo-American bloc successfully prevents the Japanese and the German land forces from making a systematic and solid contact with each other, *i.e.*, prevent Russia from being cut off from China and/or Iran and India, the war will tend to be against the German-Japanese world-planning and in favour of the *status quo*, *i.e.*, Anglo-American world-domination.

It is relevant to observe that, so far as the duration of the present war is concerned, the antipathies of Soviet Russia to her bourgeois allies of the Anglo-American bloc do not appear to be more effective than those of Germany the white to the non-white Japan. For political science a very interesting case is on hand. It consists in the study as to whether the ideological antithesis, communist *vs.* bourgeois, is less antithetic than the raciological antithesis, white *vs.* yellow. More concretely, the question is as follows: Can Germany, in spite of her abhorrence of the Japanese "yellow peril," honestly and loyally co-operate with Japan against the white enemies to the same extent that

[1] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 327-28, Part III, pp. 123-24, 323.

Russia, in spite of her repugnance to capitalism, can with the anti-communistic bourgeois powers? Or, can Russia continue her *camaraderie* with her ideological enemies of the Anglo-American plutocracy longer and more effectively than Germany with her "ethnic inferiors," the Japanese? It seems, for the time being, that Russia is bent on utilizing the Anglo-American bourgeoisie until the end of this war. It remains to be seen whether Germany is capable of utilizing Japan in the same manner. I am not a prophet, nor do I have any special pleading for one side or the other. I am only drawing a pattern of probabilities on the strength of facts and realities as they appear prominent. My analysis is speculative and is not likely to hurt anybody. So let us wait and watch.

Phases of the New Hundred Years' War

War is an experimental science. Every war is a training ground for the next war. To the general staff and genuine soldiers as well as creative statesmen of every country it furnishes a laboratory practice with a view to the detection of its existing shortcomings and the verification of its tactical, strategic and economico-technocratic hypotheses. World-War I (1914-18) proved profoundly instructive to Germany as much as to her enemies, nay, to Japan as well.

In September, 1939, World-War II was started by Germany on a platform of national potential of all sorts much higher and solider than the enterprise of August, 1914. World-War I did not turn out to be as dismal a failure to Germany as superficial historians and ephemeral statesmen have believed. Germany 1939 was factually a more formidable, powerful and world-terrifying commodity than Germany 1914. The present war is not likely to be a *proforma* success to Germany. But the lessons and results of this formal or nominal failure bid fair to be very substantial for her future expansion. After all, Germany is a raw youngster in the game of world-domination. She can wait for several other rounds. When the next round comes off, as it is bound to, say, by 1960-65, she may find herself a little better forewarned and forearmed than at the conjuncture of 1939. The scientific world ought not to forget that what it witnesses today is but a stage in the development of a hundred years' war between Germany and the British world-domination.

The Anglo-French Entente of 1904-05 may be considered to be the starting point in this Anglo-German armageddon. Down to 1914

were exhibited the preparations on both sides. The chronology may be indicated as follows:

1904-05. Anglo-French Entente the starting point of the Anglo-German war of hundred years.

1905-14. *Udyoga-Parva* (The Chapter of Preparations, to use an expressive category of the *Mahabharata*).

1914-18. World-War I. The first round of the Anglo-German war.

1919-38. Preparations for the revenge on the Versailles-Geneva Complex by vanquished Germany. Hitler's national-socialism is but *one* of the thousand and one war-potentials of eighty million Germans. It is entirely wrong to describe Hitler and his party as the only or the chief factor in Germany.

1939-45(?). World-War II. The second round of the Anglo-German war. Germany does not formally win. Perhaps the war ends in a draw. The Peace Treaty is likely to be complicated.

1945-65(?). Germany's and England's reconstruction and preparatory measures for World-War III.[1]

1965— World-War III. The third round.

etc. etc. etc.

JAPANOCRACY *vis-à-vis* ALBINOCRACY

So far as Japan is concerned, her story from 1905 on is cautious, halting and slow. But the Japanification of Asia has been continuous and steady. All the same, Japanese resources in materials, technically developed man-power, inventions and discoveries, are as yet those of a junior or freshman. No equalization is possible between her "juvenile" creativities of today and the "youthful" adventures of contemporary Germany. The two youths are not in the same stage of development and do not exhibit the same power. In December, 1941, Japan has started brilliantly and her achievements appear to be extraordinary. They are seemingly more magnificent than even the *Blitz* successes of Germany. The world of science must, however, dive deep in order to appraise the exploits of Japan and compare them with those of Germany.

[1] B. K. Sarkar, *Post-War World-Economy* (Calcutta, July, 1941).

In the first place, it is the surrender of Indo-China to Japan by France after the latter's collapse under Germany in June, 1940 that has enabled Japan to embark on her *digvijaya* (world-conquest). The command over Indo-China is virtually a " windfall " to Japan. But it is this command that places the Asian continent at her feet. Thailand (Siam) enters her " sphere " without a word. South-west (Chungking) China is terrified. The invasion of Burma and Malaya by land becomes a " plain sailing." Secondly, it is because of command over Indo-China's waters that the Pacific theatre from Hawaii Islands, nay, Californian coasts to Singapore and Sourabaya can be safely negotiated by Japan without danger to her naval communications. The presence of an independent French navy and air-force would have created an entirely different situation.

Secondly, the Eur-American empires in Asia and Africa are self-complacency institutionalized and arrogance personified. The measures of self-defence,—economico-technocratic, military-naval-aerial, ethico-human, and socio-moral[1]—organized by the white empires in their Asian and African dependencies and colonies are, to say the least, not as adequate and efficient as those organized by the European states for their national independence as against invasions by European powers. This is why it has been possible for Japan with apparently rather scanty supply (relatively speaking, *i.e.*, compared to German) in aeroplanes, tanks, munitions and men to occupy island after island and country after country as well as annihilate empires in the South-West Pacific and the Far East within a little over five months (December 7, 1941—May 18, 1942). These are *Blitz* victories, no doubt, but *Blitz* acculturated to the relatively primitive, under-developed and semi-protected conditions in Asia under Eur-American masters. The German *Blitz* in France and Russia belongs to another chapter of military-technocratic or war-organizational achievements. The Japanese *Blitz* does not belong to the German category.

Last but not least must be mentioned the co-operation and alliance obtained by Japan from the nationalists in every Asian theatre of operations. The anti-albinocratic doctrine of " Asia for Asians," prevalent in these regions, has helped Japan substantially. Such assist-

[1] For the shortcomings of colonial or dependency administration in Asia, see *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 320-21, 324-26, Part II, pp. 333. 425-28, 448-50, 475, and Part III, pp. 119-22, 314-17, 325. See also T. E. Ennis, *French Policy in Indo-China* (Chicago, 1936), and C. Robequain, *L'Evolution Economique de l'Indo-Chine Française* (Paris, 1939).

ance and collaboration Germany hardly got anywhere in Europe. It is questionable if the Quislings of any European country may be treated as equivalent to the Monroe Doctrine nationalists of diverse regions in Asia. Japan should appear to have derived more profit from what may be called "invisible alliances" and "invisible enmities" than Germany or any other power in the present war. The brilliancy of Japan's uptodate military-naval-aerial success must not blind the scientific investigator to the large-scale indebtedness of the Japanese empire to the diplomatic conjuncture, *i.e.*, to foreigners, some of the most important among whom are the nationalists of Asia struggling for independence against Eur-America. Japan has utilized the *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) quite liberally, it should appear.

Not all the details are yet available. But Filipino nationalist opposition to American rule and co-operation with Japan are manifest in the message broadcast on February 6, 1942 to General MacArthur from Manila urging him to surrender immediately.[1] The speaker is the Filipino leader, Aguinaldo, who led the revolution of 1899 against the U.S.A.

An article on "Burma and the War in the Pacific" in the *Bulletin of International News* (London), February, 1942 (pp. 136-37) says that there were some elements which were inclined to look to Japan in the belief that the Japanese would rid them of the British and that they would then attain independence. It states, further, that the Prime Minister of Burma, U. Saw, had been in contact with Japanese authorities since the outbreak of war with Japan and that this has been confirmed by his own admission (January 18, 1942). This is reported by Reuter also.

That the Japanese Government attaches considerable value to the collaboration and support extended by Asian nationalists is evident from the kind of publicity work done by the statesmen of the highest rank in Japan.[2] On February 16, 1942, Premier Tojo, for instance, tells the Diet after the fall of Singapore that Japan does not regard the Burmese people as her enemy and would gladly extend positive co-operation to them in establishing Burma for the Burmese provided they take full cognisance of the situation in Britain (who has exposed her utter incapacity) and offer to co-operate with Japan.

[1] *Bulletin of International News* (Chatham House, London), Febraury 21, 1942, pp. 166-67.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Tojo's message in regard to India is similar. Japan expects Indian nationalists' collaboration. He observes that India has a "golden opportunity to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain." As for Indonesia, Tojo maintains that the Japanese would crush the Dutch forces but if the Indonesian people understand the real intentions of Japan and co-operate with her in the construction of Greater East Asia she will respect their wishes and traditions and free them from the despotic rule of the refugee Dutch Government.

From such wishes and promises it may be gathered that the contributions of Asian nationalists to Japanese victories in East Asia may have functioned like the "invisible exports and imports" of international trade. Asian nationalism has been the equivalent of several armoured divisions on the Japanese side.

In order that the foundations of her victories may be more substantial Japan should appear to be in need of greater scientific-*cum*-industrial creativity, technical inventiveness and economic autarchy *per head of population* than she happens to possess at present. The student of social science may not, therefore, be surprised if some of the Japanese achievements be in the main of an ephemeral character. The Anglo-American empires may not be as rickety and weak-kneed as they appear for the moment to be. Japanese resources are not substantial and extensive enough for long-continued operations on diverse fronts. A period of reverses is naturally to be expected. To what extent Japan is capable of meeting such reverses and carrying on will be a test of her strength by the world-standard.

All the same, success, no matter how achieved and with what means, is success even if it be for the day. The Japanese triumphs will possess the value of having created a tradition of epoch-making *digvijaya* (world-conquest) in the Japanese annals. With the exception of Hideyoshi who enjoyed a temporary *digvijaya* in Korea in the sixteenth century Japan is not endowed by history with Alexanders, Samudraguptas, Akbars and Napoleons. In 1941-42 the Japanese people is being enriched with such world-conquering personalities. On the strength of this capital Young Japan may commence making preparations for the next war.[1] Japanocracy, like the British Empire or, indeed, like everything else in human and interhuman affairs, is well accustomed to proceed by degrees.

[1] B. K. Sarkar, *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), pp. 510-14, 529-37.

PROSPECTS OF SUGAR INDUSTRY IN BENGAL

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THE Bengal Industrial Survey Committee which was constituted in 1938 was entrusted very early in its career with the task of investigating into the prospects of sugar industry in this province. A Sub-Committee consisting of fourteen members was set up in this connection. In January, 1941, it submitted an *ad interim* report on the fixation of a minimum price for sugarcane in Bengal. It took another year to submit to the full Committee its final report regarding the possibilities of developing sugar industry in this presidency. It is good that a summary of this report adopted by the full Committee has now seen the light of day.

The terms of reference to the Committee were "to consider the position in regard to the production and supply of sugarcane in Bengal as well as the manufacture of sugar and sugar by-products and to make a recommendation with a view to an adequate supply of sugarcane of good quality at the prices fair both to the growers as well as to the manufacturers and the marketing of sugar and sugar by-products so as to secure a fair and reasonable profit to the manufacturers." The Committee, after the necessary examination of different aspects of the problem, has pointed out that this province is not more unfavourably placed than either Bihar or U. P. in respect of the development of sugar industry. In fact, Bihar and U. P., where sugar industry has now been mostly concentrated[1] do not possess better geographical advantages in comparison with Bengal.

This is a finding of the Committee to which we have all looked forward and which is really in keeping with the old industrial traditions of this province. There was a time when sugar, produced in Bengal, not only met all the demands of the consumers of this province but was exported to other Indian provinces as well. It is to be noted also that Bengal sugar was even exported to foreign countries like Arabia, Iraq, and Iran. We are not telling an imaginary story. We have ample

[1] Bihar and U. P. produce 80 per cent. of Indian sugar.

reference to this prosperous industry of Bengal in the reminiscences of foreign travellers like Bernier.[1] There were various factors which were responsible for the ruin of this great industry of Bengal. In the first place we may refer to the high duty which the British Government imposed upon Indian sugar. This policy was adopted so that Indian sugar might be shut out from the empire market and West Indian sugar might be encouraged instead. Later when the old fiscal policy was abandoned and free trade movement triumphed in Britain, indigenous sugar industry in India had already lost ground and its rehabilitation in free competition with cheap sugar produced in other parts of the world was out of the question. Sugar from Java and other countries now glutted the Indian market.

As a result of the Bengal sugar industry being destroyed, the people of this province have become mostly dependent upon importation of sugar either from other provinces or from foreign countries. It should, however, be emphasised that Bengal has a number of natural advantages which should certainly be properly and adequately exploited for the development of sugar industry in this province. Mr. M. P. Gandhi who was at one time the Secretary of the Indian Sugar Mills Association referred to fourteen such advantages.[2]

It is, however, unfortunate that the potentialities of sugar industry in this province have been consistently minimised by different Indian Committees as well as by a number of commercial and technical organisations. In 1920 was appointed the Indian Sugar Committee by the Government of India to study the problem as to the future of sugar industry in all its bearings and to advise the Government " whether a definite and co-ordinated line of policy could be laid down for the promotion " of this industry in India. The Committee was presided over by J. MacKenna, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. It examined the possibilities of expansion of cane growing and factory development in different parts of India and pointed out in its report that in comparison with U. P., Bihar, the Punjab and the Frontier Province, possibility of sugar industry in Bengal was little. In view of this finding the Committee definitely set its face against the establishment of a cane research centre in Bengal. As in its opinion sugar could not be produced for profit in this province, it was not necessary that such a centre should be located in Bengal. The Indian Tariff

[1] Even in 1791 sugar produced in Bengal by indigenous enterprise was exported. See M. P. Gandhi, *The Indian Sugar Industry*, p. 4.

[2] See *Ibid.*, pp. 95-99.

Board was required by the Government of India in 1930 at the instance of the Sugar Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to hold an enquiry and report if the Indian Sugar industry required for its development any protection. This Board submitted a comprehensive report in 1931 in which it held the same pessimistic view in respect of the possibilities of sugar industry in Bengal as the MacKenna Committee of 1920. It did not attach much importance to the potentialities of sugar industry in the Bengal Presidency. The Sugar Syndicate in one of its meetings early in 1941 also pointed out that sugar production was concentrated in U. P. and Bihar because of natural advantages which other provinces did not possess. Holding this view as it did the Syndicate looked askance at the attempts which were being made in other parts of India for the development of sugar industry. Even the Central Sugar Research Committee, the Cawnpore Institute and the Research Institution at Coimbatore have not been very helpful in respect of the improvement of cane cultivation and the possibilities of sugar industry in Bengal.

In discussing the advantages which the province of Bengal possesses in regard to the expansion of sugar industry, we may refer in the first place to the fact that cultivation of cane is possible on a wide scale in Bengal. The present Director of Industries, Bengal, pointed out in his book, " A Recovery Plan for Bengal," that nearly four hundred thousand acres of land were suitable for cane cultivation in this province.[1] Since he wrote, investigations have been carried on further and it may now be taken for granted that far larger areas have properties necessary for the cultivation of cane of a high quality. In fact, production per acre of cane in Bengal is already greater than in Bihar. It is known that although virtually no arrangements have been made for improving cane cultivation in Bengal, production per acre is here 40 tons, while in U. P. and Bihar inspite of various attempts for the improvement of production, it is 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. less than in this province. It may be pointed out that during the rains the land in Bengal remains under water in many places, but it should be emphasised that in 80 per cent. of cases Coimbatore variety 213 is now being produced in Bengal. This variety is not destroyed by water. It is true that cane produced so far in this province yields only 7 per cent. sugar, whereas in U. P. and Bihar it yields 10 per cent. But this is a defect which can easily be made good by research.

[1] Already 350,000 acres are now under cane cultivation But only 10 per cent. of the cane grown is used by sugar mills.

The total consumption of sugar in India is about eleven lakhs of ton. Of this amount 2 lakhs of ton (about 55 lakhs of maunds) are consumed in Bengal and Assam. Sugar mills in this province, however, produce only about 14 lakhs maunds. The number of mills which has this turnover is nine.[1] Consequently, if Bengal and Assam are to be self-sufficient in regard to sugar, there is opportunity for the establishment of about 25 more mills in these areas. Besides, consumption of sugar per head in India is far less than in any progressive country. In 1936-37 consumption per head of sugar was in England 105 lbs., in the United States 94 lbs., in Holland 55 lbs., in France 55 lbs. and in Australia 105 lbs. But in India consumption of sugar together with *Gur* was per head only 34 lbs. If this consumption increases and on that account demand for sugar grows in Bengal, the scope for the expansion of sugar industry in this province will widen further still.

This possibility of increase in consumption immediately meets the argument of the mill-owners in U. P. and Bihar that sugar which is already produced by the existing mills is more than sufficient to meet the Indian demand. In fact, it is very unlikely that the demand for sugar in India will remain as it stands to-day. It must increase. It is true that there are many impediments in the way of an increase in the demand for sugar. The first and foremost of these obstacles consists in the high price at which Indian sugar sells in the market. Not long ago sugar sold at Rs. 15 per maund in the Calcutta market. In recent years it hardly ever went below Rs. 10 per maund. Recently due to exigencies of war the Government of India fixed the price at Rs. 11-12 per maund. As against this it was calculated that Java sugar could be imported into an Indian port at Rs. 2-7 per maund. In other words it could reach the consumers at about Rs. 3 per maund. It may, therefore, be said that the consumers in Bengal have to pay ordinarily Rs. 7 more for every maund of sugar.

The question is, if this price can be lowered. There are, of course, different factors involved in the demand for high price by the mill-owners. There is, for instance, a tax on production which is now Rs. 3 per cwt. In the interests of the cultivators again the price of cane has been fixed in U. P. and Bihar at four annas and three pies per maund. There is thirdly a cess of one anna per maund of sugar. The cane also is not of a sufficiently high quality. But inspite of these drawbacks,

[1] Annexure III in the *Ad Intedim* Report of the Sugar Sub-Committee of the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee contains a list of 19 mills. But of them 7 are closed and 3 are under construction.

it appears possible for the mill-owners to demand less price. The Sugar Syndicate, for instance, allowed sugar to be sold at a fairly cheap rate in port towns. In January, 1941, *e.g.*, the price of sugar was really Rs. 5-4 per maund at Madras and Bombay. We do not know if in these ports sugar was being sold at this cheap price only to keep out foreign and local competitors from the market. Nor do we know if any financial loss was being incurred thereby. But anyhow it appears that it is possible for the mill-owners to curtail their cost of production and to sell sugar at a lower rate than they actually happen to charge. And if the price is lower, it is very likely that gradually the demand for this product will grow in the country.

We have just now referred to the high price which the Bengal consumers have to pay for sugar. In fact, we may repeat, that the consumers here have to pay nearly seven rupees extra for every maund of sugar. This is a condition of things which can be tolerated for long only if the local people profited by the protected sugar industry. Unfortunately the association of the people of Bengal with this industry is very thin. Since last war, sugar industry has slowly and steadily developed in India. The Government did not at first adopt the policy of protecting this industry from foreign competition. But for purposes of revenue it had imposed a duty upon imported sugar since 1894-95. The duty was for twenty years very small but it was increased to 10 per cent. during the last war and after it to 25 per cent. In 1925 the duty was made specific and by 1930 it rose to Rs. 6 per cwt. Consequently it may be said that for nearly a decade before 1932 when Sugar Industry (Protection) Act was passed, the duty, though revenue in name, was largely protective in character and Indian Sugar industry began to expand as a result of this protection. The final advantage was gained when in 1932, as it has just been pointed out, the Government, acting on the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board, decided to offer protection to sugar industry for 15 years and imposed a basic duty of Rs. 7-8 per cwt. upon foreign sugar. Since then, industrialists have resorted to sugar industry with increasing avidity.

It is unfortunate that inspite of all kinds of advantages which have been enumerated in previous paragraphs, Bengali capital and enterprise have proved rather shy in respect of this industry. Whereas in U. P. there are 71 mills and in Bihar 32, in Bengal there are only 9 at work. Of these 9 again five can be traced to non-Bengali capital and enterprise. Not only capitalists from other parts of India have started sugar industry in Bengal, but Europeans also have entered the

field. In the district of Murshidabad in Ramnugger Messrs. Anderson Wright and Co. have been managing a sugar concern in which no less than 40 lacs of rupees have been invested and in which arrangements have been made for pressing every day 750 tons of cane. At Darsana near Ranaghat again another sugar mill has been started by Carew and Co.[1] This mill is also a vast one, crushing 1,200 tons of cane everyday. It has, besides, set up two distilleries in which wine and alcohol, necessary for motor engines, are being produced. Like some other sugar concerns this company also has taken a lease of a large amount of land; it grows 20 per cent. of the cane it crushes. It is expected that the mill will produce 3 lakhs of maunds of sugar every year. It is unfortunate, we may repeat, that while outsiders have taken to the industry with so much zeal, the local people have so far rather fought shy. But that is no reason why this shyness should continue and local capitalists and enterprisers will not enter into the field.

India is a vast country. In consequence of this there is certainly a danger in concentrating the production of necessary articles, especially the articles of food, in some particular area of this country. That there is such a danger is testified to by the shortage of sugar which is noticeable in such an acute form in certain parts of India to-day. There are, of course, various factors which have brought about this shrinkage in supply of sugar. In 1939-40 the production of sugar in India was 12½ lakhs of ton. But only about 7½ lakhs of ton were disposed of. The outstanding was 5 lakhs of ton and in 1940-41 the production of the Indian sugar mills was lowered to 10½ lakhs of ton. All the same in 1940-41 the Indian sugar mills were confronted with the problem of clearing a stock of 15½ lakhs of ton. As this disposal was out of the question in that year, it was decided to produce still less in the following year. Accordingly cane was grown in 1941 only in 35,16,000 acres, whereas in the previous year the acreage under sugarcane was 42,15,000. Naturally production of sugar did not rise to the same amount as in the previous years. True, there is still sufficient stock in the hands of the sugar mills. But meanwhile not only importation from outside to this country was completely stopped, but what was more the demand for Indian sugar in the Middle East grew apace. The International Sugar Agreement of 1937 had, of course, prohibited the export of Indian sugar by sea. But recently the International Sugar Committee approved of 2 lakhs of ton of Indian sugar being exported. The mill-owners who

[1] Managed by Messrs. Lyall Marshall Co.

look at the question only from the point of view of their profit, found the demand far exceeding the existing supply and proceeded to take advantage of it. They held the stock and refused to bring it to the market for sale at the price fixed by the Government.

This was, however, only one of the factors of the scarcity of sugar in some of the Indian provinces. Another important factor is certainly the shortage of wagons, without which sugar could not be carried from the factory to the consumer in different parts of India. No permanent arrangement with regard to production should, it may be conceded, be made with an eye merely to war-time difficulties. It may be pointed out that simply because there has been shortage of wagons owing to abnormal situation to-day and simply because on that account there could be no flow of supply to the outlying markets, it cannot be an argument that there should be proper facilities and arrangements of sugar production in every part of the country. But although transportation is mainly a war-time difficulty, it is a difficulty which we have faced at least twice during the last 25 years and who knows we shall not be required to face it in the future as well. As far as possible, therefore, it is good and wise that the industry should be as decentralised as possible and to this end it is necessary that the capitalists and enterprisers of Bengal should proceed to strengthen the existing sugar mills of Bengal and to the setting up of new mills in the province.

Lastly, it should be emphasised that in the interests of the agriculturists in this province sugar industry should be more and more developed. Jute was grown, as it is common knowledge, very widely in Bengal and it was really the only cash crop in the province. But as a result of the policy of jute restriction much land has been released from jute. Nor is this release to be regarded only as a war-time necessity. As a result of the use of many substitutes and as a result of the growing of jute in certain foreign countries, the demand for jute appears to have fallen permanently. The Bengal Jute Committee was consequently wise in commending that jute cultivation should be restricted and sugar cane should be grown in released lands. But cane cultivation without the expansion of sugar industry is absurd.

The Industrial Survey Committee which has found after due enquiry that the development of sugar industry in Bengal is not only desirable but in every way feasible, has recommended the establishment of a Provincial Sugar Board. This Board, according to the recommendation, is to consist of 16 members who are to represent the growers, the industrialists and the traders. In addition, there are to be on the

Board some official and non-official experts. The Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture and Industries will preside over the Board as its *ex-officio* Chairman. It will be the duty of this Board to go into the problem of sugar industry in Bengal in all its details and make recommendations to the Government from time to time. In offering advice to the Government the Board will weigh the interests as much of the sugar industrialists as of the cane-growers, so that the interests of one group may not be safeguarded at the sacrifice of the interests of another group. It is our hope that the Report on the future of sugar industry in Bengal of the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee will give a new stimulus to Bengali capital and enterprise in a field which has not been exploited much by them.

PESTALOZZI AND HIS VIEWS ON EDUCATION THROUGH SENSE-PERCEPTION

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PESTALOZZI (1746-1827), one of the foremost pioneer of modern primary educational reforms whose life was a dedication to the cause of suffering humanity—a veritable intellectual enterprise put to practical application the theory of sense-perception which was first propounded by John Locke. To him belongs the credit of making a fruitful application of the theory of the great English philosopher. Pestalozzi maintains that children should be entirely educated through sense-perception which he defined as follows: "the presence of the external object before the senses which rouses a consciousness of the impression made by it."[1] Consciousness of sounds brought to the ear, consciousness of objects brought before the eyes, consciousness of any impression made through the physical senses are examples of sense-impressions.

Pestalozzi, in his book, How Gertrude teaches Her Children, gives us the record of the first experiment in education by sense-impression—the beginning of our educational systems of today.

According to him, sense-impression is the principle of all instruction given by Nature. The instruction given by the mother has practically nothing to improve on the method of nature. The sources of knowledge as enumerated by him are five.

(1) Sense-knowledge derived through five senses in an irregular confused way. This may be said to be sense-knowledge by chance.

(2) Sense-knowledge derived not directly through the senses but through the intervention of the art of teaching by teachers and parents.

(3) Through the recourse to senses.

(4) Knowledge through sense-perceptions *plus* sense-impression. Here a good deal of effort is involved.

(5) Knowledge through sense-perception *via* analogy.

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H.—How Gertrude teaches Her Children, tr. by Lucy E. Holland and Francies C. Turner, p. 144.

Sense impression, however, is taken by Pestalozzi in a wide sense including series of feelings. It is the foundation upon which judgment is based: the validity and accuracy of judgment depend upon heredity and accuracy of sense-perception. His rules for education by means of sense-perception may be summarised as follows:

One should classify one's observations and should proceed from the simple to the complex. The acquisition of knowledge should be gradual and step by step: ideas should be added to ideas thus leading to the construction of the complete edifice. The constituent of knowledge should be brought harmoniously under essential idea. The impressions given by art should be subordinated to the impression of nature and reality. Knowledge should be based on nature: it should follow nature.

The objects of knowledge should be intimate through art and they should affect us through different senses. Physical nearness and distance have immense effect in determining our opinion, conduct, duties and virtue. In this connection the first law of physical mechanism relating to physical nearness and distance of object should be taken into account. The natural laws with their effects should have also taken into account. Arts should be based on natural laws.[1] He established the following rules on the basis of observation:—

(1) The objects of nature are sources of knowledge in their immediate unchangeable aspects; but they are sources of error in their variable and accidental aspects.

(2) To every sense-impression, perfectly and indelibly impressed on the human mind, a whole train of sense-impressions, more or less closely associated, may be added easily, as it were involuntarily.

(3) Nature impressing the sense in its permanent aspects leads from truth to truth. The opposite process leads from error to error.

(4) By putting together objects, whose essential nature is the same, your insight into the inner truth becomes essentially and universally wider, sharper and surer.

The one-sided, biased impression made by the qualities of individual objects, as opposed to the impression that their nature should make upon us, is calculated to lead us to error, confusion and poverty of insight.

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H.—How Gertrude teaches Her Children, tr. by Lucy E. Holland and Francis C. Turner, p. 201.

It follows that the more a man makes essential, comprehensive, and general views of things his own, the less can limited, one-sided views lead him astray about the nature of his object.

Again, the less he is experienced in comprehensive sense-impressions of nature, the easier can single views of an object under varying conditions confuse in him the essential view, and even blot it out.

(5) The most complex sense-impressions rest upon simple elements. When you are perfectly clear about these, the most complex will become simple.

(6) The more senses you have questioned about the nature or appearance of a thing, the more accurate will be given your knowledge of it.[1]

Experience made Pestalozzi see that elementary instruction did not merely consist of reading, writing, and arithmetic; that these subjects, far from being the elements of all instruction ought to be subordinate to much wider points of view. He learned that a child must be taught to speak before he is taught to read, to draw before he is taught to write, and to measure before he is taught to draw.

"Every line, every measure, every word, is the result of understanding created from ripened sense-impressions and must be regarded as a means toward the progressive clearing up of our ideas. The principles of teaching must be derived from the immutable prototype of human mental development. The world lies before our eyes like a sea of confused sense-impressions, following one into the other. It is the work of Art to remove the confusion of these sense-impressions, to separate the objects one from another to put together in imagination those that resemble or are related to each other, and in this way to make all clear to us, and by perfect clearness in these, to raise in us distinct ideas. Teaching attains this and when it presents these confused and blurred sense-impressions one by one, then places these separate sense-impressions in different changing positions before our eyes and brings into connection with the whole cycle of our previous knowledge."[2] Knowledge has a gradual growth in this as in all other cases. Proceeding through confusion to definite perception and clear knowledge.

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H.—How Gertrude teaches Her Children, tr. by Lucy E. Holland and Francis E. Turner, pp. 80-81.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

It is a cardinal fact that man is the centre of sense-impressions. The accuracy of his knowledge depends on the distance and nearness of the objects affecting his senses.[1] Then again things from without give only a vague sense-impression as opposed to the clear conscious impression of the inner itself. It is a common fact of psychology that the knowledge of the self comes before the knowledge of the not-self—a fact which Pestalozzi the educationist thoroughly realised while devising his scheme of education for children.

The education of the child according to Pestalozzi should begin from the very hour of its birth, his first instructor being Nature herself. The artificial education given by man should then come in. The art of the educationist lies in close co-operation with Nature. Education in sense-impression should be there at the start and knowledge of speaking and reading should come after the child had acquired an unusual degree of knowledge both of things seen and words uttered. A psychological training in giving sense-impression of all things is highly needful at the critical stage of training. In this connection the utility of picture-book is very much to be appreciated.

Pestalozzi conducted his experiment in education with a child of three who wanted to learn through pictures in preference to letter. The common illustrations from the street, the garden, the room and so forth helped him very effectively in the process of education thus he learnt to pronounce the hardest names of plants and animals. Although this experiment led to byways, and worked for the strange and distant, to the disadvantage of the present, it threw a many-sided light on the means of quickening the child to his surroundings, and showing him the charm of self-activity in the extension of his powers.

"It only needs that we should, with psychological art, unite speech with this knowledge, in order to bring it to a high degree of clearness; and so enable us to connect the foundations of many-sided arts and truths to that which nature herself teaches, and also to use what nature teaches as means of explaining all the fundamentals of art and with truth that can be connected with them. Their power and their experience both are great at this age; but our unpsychological schools are essentially only artificial stifling machines for destroying

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H., How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, tr. by Lucy, E. Holland, pp. 85-86.

all the results of the power and experience that nature herself brings to life in them."[1]

As a result of this experiment Pestalozzi came to adopt the following conceptions as to the method of teaching children:

(1) Their mind should be developed by gradually increasing the volume of impressions.

(2) By impressing upon them clearly conscious sense-impressions.

(3) By giving them sufficient knowledge of language for all that nature and the art have brought or may, in part, bring to their consciousness.

To repeat, he by his personal experiment became convinced of the necessity of picture-books and of explaining their contents specially with a view to spelling. Next came to him the idea of the importance of vocabulary and nomenclature. "The accurate perception of vocabularies makes the things unforgettable as soon as they are brought to the knowledge of the child and the stringing of names if based on accuracy and truth develops and maintains in him a consciousness of the real relation of things to each other."[2]

Pestalozzi is of opinion that accurate perception of vocabularies have the effect of making the things signified permanently impressed on the mind. It has an indelible effect on memory and it is of incalculable advantage in childhood which is the most plastic period in life. A contemporary of Pestalozzi, Fraser mentions the following points in a letter to him: According to him it is noticeable that Pestalozzi emphasizes the importance of encircling the mind with fresh conceptions. His recitations of long words, phrases and sentences repeatedly and making the children repeat them have the effect of strengthening their sense-organs, power of observation and thought.

For this purpose Pestalozzi made his pupil use transparent leaves of horns with strokes and letters drawn on them. The learners found these to be helpful in preparing them for thousand incidents of life requiring delicate tact and observation.

Next to sense-perception learning of language is the second source in the Pestalozzian system of education. It is to supplement intuitive ideas given by Nature and education. "In language the results of

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H., How Gertrude teaches her Children, tr. by Lucy, E. Holland and Francis E. Turner, pp. 33, 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

human progress are recorded. It is only necessary therefore to follow its course psychologically." (Pestalozzi here remarks that the clue to the psychological pursuit must be sought in the very nature of the development of language itself. The savage first names an object, then draws it, and only later attains the power of more precisely determining the varying presentations of it, with regard and circumstances by endings and culmination of words.)

In this method the actual instruction in words and expression is followed by arguments and explanations thus leading to the enrichment of thoughts and development of ideas. According to him there must be severe thoroughness in the method of teaching. What is learnt must be learnt in a spirit of right earnestness. "I believe," says he, "that the time for learning is not the time for judgment; the time for judgment comes with the completion of learning; it comes with the ripening of reason, for the sake of which we judge and should judge. I believe every judgment that is supposed to have inner truth for the individual who expresses it, for this reason, must of itself, out of a comprehensive knowledge, fall ripe and perfect, as the perfectly ripened grain falls, unforced and free, from the husk or shell."

The children should be given practical lessons on inflections. Their mental freedom, clarity of vision and the power of gena here should be kept in view. As Pestalozzi says, this is accompanied by a thought to initiate the novices into clearness of percept, the idea of differentiation through arguments and analysis. This method provokes ingenuity and a desire to have complete logical satisfaction in about every object of knowledge. The headings lead to the classification of ideas to be received; they bring order into chaotic mass; and the frame-work thus built up makes the child fill up the separate shelves assiduously. That is the value of headings of geography, natural history, technology. Above all, the analogy which rules the choice ofubjects comes to the help of memory.

When these problems, analysed to their component parts, are carefully put before the child, connected with the data which he can easily find, and are used as exercises for the observing powers, the child's mind will work ceaselessly at their solution. The simple question, "What can man use as clothing out of three kingdoms of nature?" is an example of this process. Thus knowledge is gradually built up.

Pestalozzi simplifies the whole mechanism of teaching and learning leading to the supercession of elementary schools by home-education. Pestalozzi popularised knowledge by making it joyous direct and simple. In a word, according to Pestalozzi the text-books themselves should only be a skilful combination of instruction in all branches with that which Nature herself does for the development of men, under all circumstances and conditions. They should be nothing but skilful preparation of the power that man needs, for the safe use of that which nature does in all ways for his development.[1] From his practical experience as an educationist Pestalozzi arrived at the following conclusions :

(1) A well-ordered nomenclature may serve as a sure foundation of knowledge.

(2) The teaching of arithmetic should rest on strong objective foundation, secure from error and confusion.

(3) All conclusions should be made both clear and distinct.

(4) Consistency, precision, and brevity of expression should be taught as a matter of paramount importance.

(5) The truth learnt through sense-perception is permanent ; and it is proof against error and prejudices.

The method, based on observation, leads to supplement even science itself. Science is to be learnt through practical observation of surrounding objects such as plants, herbs, etc.[2]

Pestalozzi's principle of experimental training does not create a feeling of self-consciousness but it gives them stimulus. Children should lead rather than be goaded. This is true of arithmetic and other cognate subjects of study. The understanding and not the mechanical memory of the child should be developed.

It was seen further that the words and pictures which Pestalozzi laid separately before the children at the reading lesson had quite a different influence upon the mind than the collective phrases that were served up in the ordinary instruction. These phrases are such that the children could have no sense-impression of the nature of the separate words, and they find in these combinations no single component parts which they already know, but a tangible of incomprehensible combinations of unknown objects, which we guide them,

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H., How Gertrude teaches Her Children, tr. by Lucy E. Holland and Francis E. Turner, pp. 32-40.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

against their nature, above their strength, and with many delusions to work themselves into the services of thoughts, which are not only absolutely strange to them, but are also couched in an artificial language, of which they have not even tried to learn the rudiments. As time went on, Pestalozzi realised the true nature of his method. "At last, suddenly, like a deus ex machina, came the thoughts—the means of making clear all knowledge gained by sense-impression comes from number, form and language."[1]

According to Pestalozzi, clear knowledge involves an idea of the objects, their appearance and their names—a combination of realism, and idealism and nomenclatures. The result of this action presupposes the following ready-formed powers:

(1) The power of recognizing unlike objects, according to the outline, and of representing to oneself what is contained within it.

(2) That of stating the number of these objects, and representing them to himself as one or many.

(3) That of representing objects, their number and form, by speech, and making them unforgettable.[2]

A true system of education should, according to Pestalozzi, take note of this three-fold principle:

(1) The children should be taught the identity of objects.

(2) Their form.

(3) Their relations between thought and things: By pre-eminence counting, measuring. Speaking should be taught first of all.

Pestalozzi realised that number, form and names were indispensable forms of knowledge others were secondary. So in instructing children all other qualities of objects must be connected with form, number, and names. Through the consciousness of the unity, form and name of an object it becomes a definite conception; by gradually learning its other qualities our knowledge of it becomes clear, through the consciousness of all its other characteristics our knowledge of it becomes distinct.[3]

Pestalozzi further found that all our knowledge is developed from the three elementary powers:

(1) "From the power of making sounds, the origin of language.

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[2] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

(2) From the indefinite, simple sensuous power of forming images, out of which arises the consciousness of all forms.

(3) From the definite, no longer merely sensuous power of imagination ; from which must be derived consciousness of unity, and with it the power of calculation and arithmetic.[1]

Methods of application

The first elementary form of instruction is sound. From sound we get the following special means of instruction:

(1) Sound teaching, or training the organs of speech.

(2) Word teaching, or teaching about single objects.

(3) Language teaching, or the means whereby we are led to express ourselves accurately about well-known objects, and about all we know of them.[2]

Children should be made conscious of sounds spoken as early as possible. Then should follow the consciousness of spoken sounds. Elementary text-books for children should do well to follow this principle. Pestalozzi says. the first reading book must therefore contain all the sounds of which the language consists, and these should in every family be brought to the ear of the child in the cradle, be deeply imprinted and made unforgettable by constant repetition, before he is able to utter a single word."[3]

Pestalozzi does not deal in detail with song as an item of education. The study of words was to be made at the beginning from the mother's book, which was to be so arranged that the names of the most important objects of the world were listed in groups of nature, history, geography, human callings, and relations. These lists were to be given to the child as exercises in reading soon after the completion of his spelling-book, and Pestalozzi was convinced by experience that it was possible to get the children to learn these lists by heart.[4]

Pestalozzi realised that importance of language as an instrument of distinct thought and ideas. It helps us in the acquisition of knowledge through recognition, definition, and formation of proper nomenclature.[5] First of all the child should learn to express himself

1 Pestalozzi, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 89.
2 *Ibid.*, p, 90.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 95
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

in terms of number and form. Other aspects should then follow.[1] In a word language should be used to give help on inactitude of thought.[2] Pestalozzi knows that the five senses are not our only source of knowledge: it is also due to comparison, imagination and abstraction.[3]

A concrete example of Pestalozzi's method of direct learning is thus given. He takes substantives distinguished by striking characteristics, known through our five senses, from the dictionary and puts the adjectives which express these characteristics after them. For example:

El—slippery, worm-like, leather skinned.
Carion—dead, stinking.
Evening—quiet, bright, cool, rainy.
Field—sandy, loamy, manured, fertile, profitable, unprofitable.

Then Pestalozzi reverses the process and finds out adjectives that expresses the striking characteristics of objects perceived by our senses; puts after them the substantives which have the peculiar characteristics expressed by the adjectives. For example:

Round—ball, hat, moon, sun.
Light—feather, down, air.
Heavy—Gold, lead, oak-wood.
Warm—stoves, summer-days, fame.
Deep—Seas, lakes, cellar, groves.
Soft—flesh, wax, butter.
Elastic—steel springs, whale bone, etc.[4]

Pestalozzi always seeks to develop the free thought of the children instead of destroying it.[5] In order to develop the knowledge of the children further, he seeks to familiarise them with (1) Geography, (2) History, (3) Physical geography, (4) Natural history.

After that comes the ego, and all that concerns himself:

(1) As a mere physical being, in relation to the animal kingdom.
(2) As a social being.
(3) As a normal being.

1 Pestalozzi, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 98.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

The teaching of properties of objects is followed by scientific nomenclature, acquaintance with the names of the towns of a country, say Germany, in an alphabetical way, *e.g.*, Aachen, 8, Aalen 3, Abenberg, 4, Aoken, 10. Aachen is in the westphalian circle. Abenberg is in the Franconian circle. Aoken in the lower saxon circle, etc.

Lastly the child must be taught to differentiate clearly by speech, the relation of objects with each other, in their varying conditions of number, time and proportion; or rather to make still clearer the nature, properties, and powers of all objects that we have already learned to know by name, and have, to some degree, made clear by putting together their names and questions.

Grammar shall be taught as a means of the clarification of ideas. Lessons in correct pronounciation should follow. Then should come, in concrete, lessons in reading. After the child has said the sentences so often that repetition is so easy to him, the mother asks: Who is kind? What has gay wings? And then backwards; What is father? What has the butterfly? Teaching of simple words and sentences should be followed by lessons in complex words and sentences.[1]

These exercises (language exercises) are accomplished by descriptions and definitions of objects or simple actions. Objects such as bell or sticks, actions such as walking.[2] Pestalozzi attaches special importance to the teaching of language which he regards as the sum-total of all acts, as he says, "The gift of speech is infinite in itself, and becomes daily greater as it ever grows more perfect. It gives the child in a short time, what nature needed agrees to give to mankind."

The Art of Measuring:—Pestalozzi emphasizes the importance of learning the art of measuring as indispensable to having a proper idea of form. This involves a knowledge of drawing, the feeling of harmony and a sense of proportions.[4]

In an elaborate passage Pestalozzi graphically describes how children are to be taught the A B C of form. First of all they should be taught the properties of straight lines. Then come in straight

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H., *op. cit., p. 108.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp., 116-117.

lines as horizontal, vertical and oblique. This is followed by the principal angles. Then follow other figures, such as squares.[1]

All these should be taught to the children as results of measuring with the eye, and the measuring forms named in this course as squares, horizontal, or vertical, oblong (or rectangle); the curved lines as circles, semi-circle, quadrant; first oval, half oval, quarter oval, second, third, fourth, fifth and so on. They must be led to use the forms as a means of measuring and to learn the nature of the proportions by which they are produced.[2]

The means of obtaining this end are as follows:—

(1) To attempt to make the child recognize and name the proportions of these measure forms.

(2) To enable him to apply and use them independently.

(3) The third means of attaining this end is by drawing these forms themselves, by which the children (combining this with the other two methods) not only gradually gain clear ideas about every form, but gain accurate power of working with every form.[3]

The Art of Drawing:—Drawing is the power of representing to oneself the sense-impression made by any object, its outline and the characteristics contained within the outline, by means of similar lines, and of being able to imitate these lines accurately.[4] According to Pestalozzi the art of drawing must be subordinate to the art of measuring and the art of writing to drawing.[5] As he says the art of writing cannot be begun and pursued without first developing exercises in measured lines, not only because it is a special kind of linear drawing and suffers no arbitrary deviation from the fixed direction of its forms, but also, if it is made easy to the child before drawing, it must necessarily spoil the hand because it stiffens it in particular directions before the universal flexibility for all the forms which drawing requires, has been sufficiently and firmly established.

Pestalozzi emphasizes the importance of teaching the science of numbers: Arithmetic, very rightly it is accurate and is free from error and as such it helps in the acquisition of lucid thought and clear reasoning. Geometry may help fully supplementing it. Hence mere mechanical knowledge due to memory will not do. "Pestalozzi

1 Pestalozzi, J. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 120.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119.

begins his teaching of arithmetic by giving the children the conception of numbers from one to ten, through the medium of actual objects, or lines and dots on tables. Not until they have been exercised in the calculation of these objects (fingers, peas, pebbles, etc.), does he proceed to figures, the signs of numbers, and these figures the children now find quite easy. [1] This method has the advantages of leading the mind to distinct ideas and of making the process easy. For the purpose of giving the child a clear notion based on sense-impression was needed ; and this was adequately met by square. Thus Pestalozzi set up the A. B. C of sense-perception, of which the basis is the square, and which thus becomes the A. B. C, of arithmetic ; and realizes thereby that the figures of geometry become the first fundamental elements in the relations of numbers, and conversely, the fundamental elements of relations of numbers became the first elements of the figures of geometry. The A, B, C of sense-perception will then comprise two parts.

(1) A. B. C of sense-perception of the relations of measure.

(2) The A. B, C of sense-perception of the relation of number.

The first of these A. B. C's has its fundamental principle the square, first as a whole, then devided into 2, 3 to 10 parts. The A. B. C of the relations of number has likewise a table as a basis. On it lines are drawn to represent a series of unities by 1, 2, 3 to 10, and repeated 10 times. The mere looking at the table supplies to give the child immediate perception of the most varied measure, and enables him to solve complicated problems on fractions.

Criticism of Pestalozzi's method of sense-training:—Pestalozzi's method of sense-training is evidently based on the faculty psychology —a psychology that takes the mind to be divided into several faculties or compartments, such as counting, measuring and speaking, and these faculties Pestalozzi calls: "The basis of all accurate knowledge of objects of sense. We should cultivate them with the strictest psychological Art, endeavour to strengthen and make them strong, and to bring them, as a means of development and culture, to the highest pitch of simplicity, consistency and harmony." [2] This theory is now obsolete and discredited, but which was once in vogue. Herbert sharply criticised this faculty psychology of Pestalozzi.

[1] Pestalozzi, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Herbert's criticism of faculty psychology is summarised by Charles de Garmo thus: "There is no room in the soul for separate faculties. It is not a complex but a simple faculty in which nothing but ideas, their relations, and interactions exist. The soul has only ideas, which are one form of activity, namely, its self-preservation against other reals. With this basis, Herbert could confidently declare that his contemporaries had turned psychology into mythology, since they had transformed the various typical internal states of the mind into objective existences called faculties."[1]

Pestalozzi's A. B. C of Anschauung is criticized by Herbert in the following words in his A. B. C of sense-perception.

"Pestalozzi has included in his A. B. C of sense-perception the ellipse or as he incorrectly terms it 'the oval.' 'It deserves to be included, partly because it accustoms the youthful draughtsman to a changing curvature, partly because we need it so often when circles not directly facing the eye are to be drawn. Under such circumstances the ellipse is usually drawn wrongly.

It is well to make sure of its course by a rule, even though by the analytical investigation of this line we can in this place derive nothing but just the rule."[2] Inspite of a bad psychology as the back of it, the method of training initiated by Pestalozzi has done immense service to the cause of education of children all over the world. His educational experiments with young children have greatly influenced the modern school curricula and the methods of teaching in the modern primary schools all over the civilised world. Pestalozzi must for ever be regarded as one of the great benefactors of the human race.

1 De Garma. C., Herbart and the Herbartians, pp. 28-29.
2 Herbert, A. B. C of Sense-Perception, p. 207.

4TH JULY

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY

TIME is a great healer. It heals, as it marches, both personal and international wounds. The 4th of July, the American Independence Day, was celebrated in this year with almost as much enthusiasm in the United Kingdom as in the United States. In India also the Viceroy sent his greetings on this occasion both to the President of the U.S.A. and to his representative at New Delhi. When we remember that on this day, one hundred and sixty-six years ago, thirteen American Colonies, ruled until then by His Britannic Majesty, George III, declared their independence of all British connection and girded up their loins to make it good by force of arms, we become naturally surprised that this Declaration has become a matter of celebration to the people and Government of Britain. But one hundred and sixty-six years make up a long period and although quarrel between kins leaves behind a long memory of bitterness, it is still not expected to survive so long as this. It is true that the War of Independence which continued for six years was followed not only by another war between Britain and America (of 1812) but also by rivalries of other kinds and other types. But sedulous attempts have been made during the last fifty years and more to smooth the ruffled relations between the two English-speaking democracies. The sense of fellowship which was being strengthened by other ways was made all the keener by the comradeship in arms during the last War. As for the struggle which has been carried on for three years now against the Axis powers, the Government of the United States has been on the side of Britain from the very start, though it did not formally come into the fight until the closing month of the last year. Sense of a common danger and joint efforts to meet and repel it cannot but efface the memory of old bitterness and confirm mutual understanding and friendship.

The adoption of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776, was the culmination of a series of actions which His Majesty's Government in England took in respect of the American Colonies. The reaction in these Colonies of the British policy pursued during the twelve years previous to this date is a matter to be studied with great interest. It should be pointed out at once that

this reaction, at first very moderate, grew in extremism as one unwise step after another was taken by the British Government and ultimately it reached a stage when people became convinced that the declaration of independence was the only wise and honourable course. Professor Morison, in his *Introduction to the Sources and Documents of the American Revolution*, has observed that "Geography and climate, institutional developments, religion and race, and other factors beyond our ken, may have made the separation inevitable." There may be some who will shake their head over this observation and point that if in the 19th and 20th centuries by the development of Dominion Status British connection and local autonomy could be reconciled, possibly something of the kind might have been accomplished in respect of the thirteen Colonies in the 18th century as well. But they should be reminded of the fact that British policy towards the Colonies did not relax and become favourable towards their evolution to full responsible government until after the secession of the American Settlements. In fact, after the successful conclusion of the Seven Years' War the British Government in London could not discover any intermediate step between rigid control over the destiny of the Colonies from whitehall and their full and complete independence.

The Treaty of Paris of 1763 released feelings of a contradictory character in the American Colonies and Great Britain. While the former were henceforward relieved of the French danger in their neighbourhood and came to depend more upon themselves for the regulation of their life, the latter had become puffed up with the victories it had achieved in the late War and became determined to rule the world including, of course, the thirteen Colonies with a stronger hand. Great Britain was no longer to be content with the system of government in the Colonies in which there was a recognised compromise between imperial control and local initiative and freedom. It is very doubtful if the Colonies also, left to themselves, would have been satisfied for long with the system under which they had lived so far. But they were not left to themselves. As soon as the War with France was over, His Majesty's Government proceeded to assert greater authority and wider jurisdiction in these Colonies. In 1764 was passed by the British Parliament an Act, variously called the Sugar Act, the Revenue Act or the Grenville Act. Its object was as much to tighten the mercantile system as to raise revenue. In regard to the first purpose the Colonists had no objection. They were reconciled to the regulation of trade by His Majesty's Government in London. But in regard to the latter, they

had an objection, serious and deep-seated. Revenue was to be raised not by the Parliament at Westminster but by their own legislatures. But before their opposition to the Grenville Act could be properly organised, another measure was passed by the British Parliament (1765). It was called the Stamp Act.

The mobilization of public opinion in the Colonies was easier against the new measure than against the Sugar Act of the previous year. The latter, though a revenue Act, was intended to regulate external trade, which was taken as outside the jurisdiction of the local legislatures. The Stamp Act was, however, an encroachment upon the exclusive authority of the Colonial Legislatures in regard to internal taxation. Its enactment, therefore, created an uproar and succeeded in gathering at New York a Congress of the representatives of the different Colonies (the first of its kind). But it should be known that this uproar did not represent a very extreme reaction. It, in fact, produced ultimately only a very reasoned protest against the encroachment on a cherished privilege and power of the local legislative bodies. Patrick Henry, a noted patriot of the Old Dominion (Virginia), made no doubt a speech in the Assembly of that Colony, which was of an extreme character and which created some consternation in political circles. We do not know exactly as to what he said. Different versions of his speech have come down to us. But this much is clear that the speech he made was not welcome to most of his colleagues. In any way, we may repeat, the peoples of the Colonies became incensed no doubt in 1765 for the passing of the two obnoxious measures in quick succession but in their indignation at this hour they did not deny either the authority of the King or even that of the Parliament in the Colonies. They merely enunciated the principle of no taxation without representation. As the Colonists were not represented in the Parliament at Westminster, this body had no right to pass any measure of taxation and particularly of internal taxation for the Colonies.

This protest, however reasoned and limited in scope, became effective and when the Royal officials found it impossible to enforce the Act, the British Parliament, now under wiser guidance, repealed it to the joy of all friends of Britain in America. True, the Parliament asserted its right to tax the Colonists by passing a Declaratory Act to that effect. But the Americans, unwilling to fight a theoretical assertion of right, dropped the matter and thought the period of strife was over. But the period of strife was not over. It was to begin anew in the course of a year. It is an infirmity of little minds not to take

defeat in an unreasonable contest in good humour and in sporting spirit. They return to the contest on a larger arena and when they suffer defeat again, they suffer it on larger issues and with repercussions on a wider field. The opposition to the Stamp Act was organised on the ground that it provided for the levy of an internal tax. By repealing the measure, if the Parliament made any retreat, it only retreated from a very narrow ground of authority and jurisdiction. But from 1767 onwards when new assertions of Parliamentary power were made, one after another, it stood the risk of having all this wide jurisdiction effectively questioned in the Colonies.

George III did not forgive his Ministers for the repeal of the Stamp Act. As soon as circumstances proved more favourable, he kicked out Lord Rockingham and his colleagues and a new Ministry under the guidance of William Pitt was formed. Edmund Burke has immortalised this Ministry by his famous description in the Speech on American Taxation. It was a mosaic of many colours and might have worked as a team only under the leadership and authority of a man like Pitt. Unfortunately he came to suffer from gout and remained confined to bed and meanwhile his colleagues undertook the introduction of new taxation measures for the Colonies. Sir George Trevelyan, the distinguished Whig historian of the American Revolution, has deplored that Pitt, when commissioned to form the Government, did not insist on the inclusion of men like Rockingham in the Cabinet. "With Rockingham as his second in command—with Lord John Cavendish, or Dowdeswell, or (still better) with Burke as his Chancellor of the Exchequer—he might have lingered in the retirement, to which his shattered health inclined him, without any damage to the public interest or to his own fame." The fortunes of the English-speaking world might possibly have been different, if such a step was actually taken. But instead he allowed himself to be burdened with colleagues who took steps absolutely inconsistent with his principles and wishes. The Americans had objected to internal taxation by the Parliament. So, argued Charles Townshend, they might be taxed externally by that body. Accordingly new duties were levied on certain British manufactures as well as on tea, when entering the Colonies. The object was to raise revenue, the whole or part of which would be spent in creating a colonial civil list and in thus rendering the royal governors and judges independent of the local legislatures.

It was only expected that the measures would evoke a strong opposition in the Colonies. They had confined their opposition before

to internal taxation simply because the Stamp Act had provided for internal taxation. But that they would oppose all kinds of taxation by the British Parliament whenever an occasion for it would arise was evidenced by their enunciation of the principle of no taxation without representation. So it would have been statesmanship not to allow such an occasion to arise. But Townshend would not understand it. In his desire to overawe the colonists he took a step which supplied the occasion. There were really two important reasons why the colonists must oppose the "Townshend duties." In the first place, they provided for taxation by the Parliament and as such on principle they must be opposed. Secondly, the proceeds of the duties would be devoted to the creation of a civil list, as a result of which they would lose all control over the governors and judges who would then ride rough-shod over their rights and liberties.

John Dickinson, a Quaker lawyer practising at Philadelphia, voiced the opposition of the American people against the duties in his famous "Farmer's Letters." It should be noted that these letters which strengthened so much the determination of the citizens of the different Colonies to oppose the taxes breathed the spirit of loyalty to the King and to British connection. But they demanded at the same time absolute opposition to taxation by the Parliament in any form or shape. So before this the Americans had opposed internal taxation by Parliament and now as a result of the Townshend duties being imposed they set their faces definitely against any kind of taxation by that authority. Merchants and politicians now entered into an agreement not to import the taxed articles from England. This non-importation agreement became considerably effective and English exports to the Colonies fell off by fifty per cent. This brought home to the British Government the unwisdom of the policy which underlay the levy of the duties. The Government ought to have, therefore, retreated very frankly and boldly from the ground upon which it had so unwisely encroached. But such frankness and boldness were not to be expected of a short-sighted Government which placed prestige above statesmanship. All the other Townshend duties were repealed in 1770 but that on tea was allowed to remain. And it was tea which would ultimately be the cause of Britain's losing the Colonies.

Although the retaining of the tea duty was, as we have just pointed out, responsible for the troubles which followed later, it must be admitted that except in Massachusetts the repeal of the other Townshend duties had a tranquil effect. It is the nature of people everywhere to

seek out an excuse for a normal peaceful life. The colonists had fought for the repeal of the Stamp duty in 1765-66. They had again fought an arduous and prolonged fight against the duties levied in 1767. Inevitably they thought that the repeal of most of these duties in 1770 was an excellent reason why they should desist from the struggle and turn to the normal avocations of life. But while in other Colonies this attitude became predominant, in Massachusetts the fighting spirit was kept alive. It should be borne in mind that on the very day that four Townshend duties were repealed by the British Parliament, there was a short and sharp encounter between a handful of soldiers and a small crowd in a street in Boston and there happened what was called the "Boston massacre." This massacre was the culmination of many incidents which had occurred already in the streets of this city since British troops had been brought into it to overawe the people.

The relations between British soldiers and the Colonial peoples had never been happy and cordial. Even during the Seven Years' War when British and Colonial soldiers were fighting side by side, there was no love lost between them. In describing the attitude of British officers towards the people of the Colonies a writer observed in the last century, "Most of them were men of family, exceedingly prejudiced and insular, whose knowledge of the world was limited to certain classes of their own countrymen and who looked down on all others, whether foreign or domestic. Towards the provincials their attitude was one of tranquil superiority, though its tranquillity was occasionally disturbed by what they regarded as absurd pretensions on the part of the colony officers." If the attitude of the British officers was one of superiority towards the colonial officers, the relations between the British and colonial rank and file were no less strained. In fact, never was there any sense of fellowship between them. If that was so at other times, what was to be expected in a period of storm and stress which was opened by the Townshend duties? In fact, the hostility of the citizens of Boston towards the British soldiers was unconcealed and the latter reciprocated the sentiment with alacrity. In an atmosphere like this the "Boston massacre" was an inevitable incident, and an incident like this would certainly keep up in Massachusetts the fighting spirit which had elsewhere touched the lowest ebb.

The presence or absence of inspiring leaders in a country determines in most cases whether the people there will fight a tyrannical act or take it lying down. In Boston there was such a leader who was unwilling to "cease fire" against the attitude of supremacy which the

British Parliament had assumed. The leader was no other than Samuel Adams, perhaps more famous in these days than his reputed cousin. Samuel Adams was a graduate of Harvard College and a man of clear logical mind and tenacious will. He was a Calvinist by religion and adhered to congregational forms which are so favourable to religious as well as to civil liberty. He persuaded the Boston town meeting to appoint a committee of correspondence and a " List of Infringements " of which the British Government had been guilty was prepared under its aegis and sent to other towns which also constituted similar committees of of correspondence. These bodies soon became an excellent engine of agitation throughout the Colony of Massachusetts. Later the lower houses of the different Colonies set up similar committees and a political machine, very potent and useful in character, was thus constituted. The credit for this excellent net-work of organisation must go to the Calvinist leader of Boston.

We have referred already to the retention of the accursed duty on tea. In 1773 it became responsible for galvanising into new life the movement of opposition which had become largely dormant in the Colonies. The East India Company which exported tea to the Colonies *via* England was allowed a drawback which enabled it to sell this beverage to the American consumers at a price far lower than in the United Kingdom. This was a method discovered for persuading the citizens of the Colonies to purchase tea though the duty on it had not been removed. But the method miscarried. The Bostonians, into whose harbour ships laden with tea were riding at anchor, decided to see if " tea could be made with salt water." When they carried out this decision, His Majesty's Government became determined to teach the people of Massachusetts a lesson. A number of penal laws, most of which affected the interests of this Colony alone, were adopted by the Parliament in the spring of 1774. The British Government had possibly expected that this attack upon the liberties of one Colony and of one city would leave the other Colonies cold and Massachusetts, isolated from the rest of America, would come down in sackcloth and ashes. But the enactment of the penal laws had an effect in the American Colonies which was completely otherwise.

We have seen how since 1767 the people of America had become opposed to the British Parliament exercising any right of taxation in the Colonies. The passing in 1774 of the Coercive Acts which had nothing to do with taxation but which amounted to positive infringe-

ment of cherished rights and liberties of the people made it possible for the Americans to deny the authority of the Parliament in other fields as well. James Wilson actually wrote a pamphlet entitled "*Considerations on the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament,*" denying any jurisdiction of the Parliament in the Colonies and pointing out that they had their connection with Britain only through the Crown. It is true that the point of view contained in the pamphlet was not immediately acceptable to the majority, but the sands were running out and it would not be long before views more extreme would prevail. As in 1765 a Continental Congress was constituted and it met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. This Congress, while it rejected all extreme views, adopted a strongly worded declaration of rights which the colonists, as free citizens descended from the English stock, were entitled to enjoy and exercise and of which none could deprive them. A scheme of commercial retaliation was also drawn up and if the Coercive Acts which the Parliament had passed were not withdrawn, this scheme was to be enforced through the Committees of Correspondence.

As days passed, the feelings of the people changed from moderate to extreme and the possibility of reconciliation began to dwindle. But it should be emphasised that even a few weeks before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the Congress, many of the people could not entertain suggestions of separation from the British Empire. They still somehow had a pathetic belief that the wrongs that had been done to the American subjects of His Majesty would be righted and the infringements of liberty that had been committed would be rectified. But while in the Colonies ideas of reconciliation were widely held, at Westminster no talk of compromise was entertained. The voice of Burke and even that of Chatham were drowned in the wild cry of narrow-minded politicians and selfish sycophants for strong action in the Colonies. A little imagination, a little sense of reality would have avoided the clash of arms which soon took place at Lexington and the march of events which followed it and which led to the adoption of the famous document whose signing is observed every year in the United States and now in the United Kingdom as well.

It should be emphasised that even after Lexington and Bunker Hill while the Americans were roused to greater efforts, they were still mostly of the view that they were fighting not for independence but for preserving their rights within the aegis of the British Empire. But the rigid and inexorable attitude on the part of George III and his Government on the one side and the logic of events on the other began to change

very rapidly the ideas and feelings of the American people. It should be mentioned that the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* in the second week of January, 1776, was a great contributory factor in this respect. The author was no other than Thomas Paine. He had arrived in America in 1775 and was introduced to the public life of the country by Benjamin Franklin. " Ill-educated and inexperienced perhaps he was," but he knew that " if men are to fight to the death, it must be for reasons which all can understand." Although he had been in the country only for a few months, he penetrated deeply into the American mind and had a thorough idea as to what facts and what arguments would appeal to their imagination and would go straight into their heart. The pamphlet which has been described by some as superficial proved actually to be a most effective instrument in swaying the popular mind. A hundred thousand copies " were soon passing from hand to hand, the printer getting all the profits and Paine obliged to buy the few copies he gave to his friends." The Ameircan people had already been convinced that the Parliament had no jurisdiction in their country. The *Common Sense* now undermined their traditional loyalty to the throne and their deep-seated belief that they should be associated with the Empire through their connection with the Crown. It told them by reasoning which they very clearly understood that association with the Empire was not a gain but a handicap and that " America would flourish as much and probably much more, if no European power had anything to do with her government."

The hesitation against the declaration of independence which ought to have logically followed Lexington and Bunker Hill was thus largely sloughed off but not yet completely. On the first of July, 1776, however, before the Congress at Philadelphia rose for the day, a despatch from George Washington, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American forces in the previous year, was received and it brought home to the still hesitating members that independence of the Colonies must be declared before long. English ships carrying soldiers and munitions were arriving and a full-scale attack would be launched without delay. If, therefore, ruin and destruction were to be avoided, the old sentiments about the Empire must be abandoned and an appeal for help to other countries must be made. To this end, it was essential that the Colonies must formally snap their connection with the Empire of George III and declare themselves as free and independent. Accordingly on the 2nd of July a resolution for independence was passed and a small committee consisting of Franklin, Sherman, R. R.

Livingston, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson was constituted to draft the Declaration of Independence.

Of the leaders who made American resistance to George III's tyranny so successful, three were on this committee. George Washington, whose contributions no historian can over-estimate was, as it has been pointed out already, the Commander-in-Chief and was away in the field of operations in this capacity. Samuel Adams, to whom reference has been made in a previous paragraph, was in the Congress but not on this committee. Patrick Henry, the famous Virginian patriot, did not find the work of the Congress quite suited to his temperament and was not in it when the Declaration of Independence was signed. Benjamin Franklin's career is well known to every reader and it is not necessary at this place to expatiate on any aspect of it. John Adams, whose father was a labouring farmer, gave himself the training of a lawyer and rose in this capacity to a position of great usefulness in his own Colony of Massachusetts. It should also be noted that the reputation of his family did not rise and fall with him. Not only he himself became the President of the United States in succession to Washington but he was the father of a President and grandfather of an American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. As for Thomas Jefferson, who was entrusted with making the first draft of the Declaration, it may be said that like Washington he was not only a Virginian but a Virginian patrician at that. He had been to the College of William and Mary and took to law as a profession. A member of the Virginian Assembly, he established his reputation very early in life not only as a spirited public man but as a scholar of wide culture. " Of all the men of that time," observes John Fiske, " there was perhaps none of wider culture, or keener political instincts. . . . He was deeply interested in all theories of the 18th century concerning the rights of man and the perfectability of human nature."

Jefferson, entrusted by the committee with making the first draft, proceeded to write it out without consulting any book or pamphlet. His ideas on the subject were already quite clear and he was only to couch them in apposite language. Once the draft was made, he not only submitted it to the committee but copies of it were separately given to John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. These gentlemen made two or three verbal suggestions which were incorporated in the draft and in this form it was adopted by the committee and then submitted to the whole Congress. Here the draft of Jefferson passed through greater fire and some portion of it was cut out and some alterations in other

parts were made. So, ultimately when the draft was approved, it could not be said that it was wholly the handiwork of Jefferson. The Congress as a body and Jefferson as an individual were both to take responsibility for it.

A writer has said of the Declaration of Independence that " both as a political and literary document it has stood the test of time. It has all the clasic qualities of an oration by Demosthenes." The ideas contained in the document were, of course, not new and in such a document it is foolish to seek for new ideas. They had, in fact, been made familiar by the writings of Milton, Sidney and Locke and simply because they had been made so familiar, a public document adopted by a democratic assembly could give expression to them so eloquently and so effectively.[1]

The Declaration of Independence was a great contribution to the development of human freedom. That out of evil cometh good, the seers have recognised in all ages. Nothing exemplifies it more than the Declaration of Independence which would not have been adopted and published but for the folly of George III and his " friends " in the British Parliament.

[1] " . . . We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness . . . "

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ'S REIGN

S. N. Haidar Rizvi, M.A., B.C.S.

THE chronology of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's reign has proved one of the most knotty problems of Muslim Indian History. It has confused historians since the days of Aḥmad bin Yahyā, the author of Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī. The reason is obvious. Barnī has been their chief source, and Barnī has himself frankly admitted that he has not been particular about the dates of events or the chronological order (p. 478). Most of the historians had *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn* of 'Iṣāmī, before them, but it struck none that they should turn to 'Iṣāmī for the chronological order of events.

Futūḥus-Salāṭīn has recently been published, and the more I study it the more I feel inclined to think that the events narrated by 'Iṣāmī are in perfect chronological order. 'Iṣāmī is a contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. First I propose to give the headings of events in the order as recorded by 'Iṣāmī and then I hope to discuss each event with reference to the other contemporary sources and thereby support 'Iṣāmī's chronological order. In my opinion 'Iṣāmī is so very particular about the correct chronology and order that whenever he deviates he at once reminds his readers that he is doing so. As for example while Shāhū, Gulchandar and Halājūn, according to 'Iṣāmī, rebelled during the Sulṭān's absence at Daulatābād, where the Sulṭān had gone to deal with the rebellion of Sayyid Jalāluddīn in Ma'bar, 'Iṣāmī could not narrate this event simultaneously with the events in the Deccan. Consequently he first dealt with the Deccan affair and just while describing the return of the Sulṭān to Delhi inserts the following head-line :—

ذکر برگشتن شاهو و گلچند و رهلا جون بر سبیل ایجاز

and then begins :—

شنیدم گروهے ز راہ غرور چو شہ را ز لاهور دید نے دور

Order of Main Events as given by 'Iṣamī

I. Accession of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, p. 408.

II. Conquest of Kalanūr and Farashūr (Mongol territories) on the border of India, p. 410.

III. The Rebellion of Bahāuddīn Gurshāsp, p. 411.
IV. The conquest of Kandhiana (Sinhgarh), pp 417-18.
V. The Rebellion of Baharām Aiba (Kashlī Khān) and Bahādur Shāh Bura in Multan and Bengal respectively, pp. 420-28.
VI. Transfer of Delhi population to Daulatābād, p. 430.
VII. Issue of face-value currency, p. 441.
VIII. Withdrawal of the same, p. 442.
IX. The Mongol invasion against India under Tarma Shirīn, p. 444.
X. The Qarāchāl expedition, pp. 447-49.
XI. The rebellions of Sayyid Jalāluddīn Aḥsan Shāh in Ma'bar Hushang in Daulatābād, Shāhū, Halājūn and Gulchandar at Lahore, pp. 449-50.
XII. Rebellion of Fakhruddin at Lakhnauti, p. 452.
XIII. Royal camp at *Sargadwari* and the rebellion of Ainuddin Mahru, pp. 452-55.
XIV. The rebellion of Nuṣrat Khān Shihābuddīn at Bidar, pp. 463-78.
XV. The rebellion of 'Alī Shāh Nathu, pp. 463-78.
XVI. Re-transfer of population to Delhi, p. 479.
XVII. Rebellion of Qazi Jalal at Baroda and risings in Daulatābād, and accession of Ismā'īl Afghān as Nāṣiruddīn Shāh, and the arrival of Qazi Jalāl and Mubarak at Nāṣiruddīn Shāh's camp at Daulatābād after being routed by the Imperialists, pp. 481-97.
XVIII. The Rebellion of Taghī at Gujrat, p. 511.
XIX. Accession of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Bahman Shāh in the Deccan.

I. As regards the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughlak, 'Iṣāmī gives the date definitely as 724 H. (F.S., p. 408):

ز تاریخ بد هفتصد و بست و چار که بر تخت بنشست آن شهریار

Apparently it contradicts Barnī who gives 725 H. and the coins also support 725 H. (*vide* J.A.S.B., Nums. Supplement, No. XXXV, p. 132). In my opinion Barnī and the coins give the date of coronation whereas 'Iṣāmī gives the date of exact accession to the throne. It may be that Ghiaṣuddīn died in Zilhijja 724 A.H. and the king took forty days for mourning. Barnī (p. 456) clearly states that forty days were spent in mourning. Another authority which indirectly supports 'Iṣāmī is Ibn Batuta. He writes (p. 85) that Ghiaṣuddīn reigned for

four years or a little over. We know Ghiaṣuddīn came to power on 2nd Sh'aban 720 H. (*vide* Tughlaqnāmā, pp. 132-34) so his death must be assumed to have occurred in Zilhijja in 724 A.H. which will amount to four years four months. Further Barnī states that Muḥammad reigned for 17 years. Muḥammad died in Muḥarrum 725 H. If we calculate back we get exactly this year.

I know this opinion of mine is at variance with another contemporary authority. I mean, the incomplete autobiographical note (photographic reprint published with Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain's "*Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq*") of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq where the Sulṭān gives four years and ten months as the period of his father's reign. If we accept this, it will mean that Ghiaṣuddīn died in Jamadi II 725 H. This would contradict Barnī so far the period of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's reign as stated by him is concerned. That is, Muḥammad's reign cannot cover 17 years on 21st Muḥarrum 752 H.

II. About the conquest of Kalānur and Farāshur other contemporary books are silent. It may have been a sort of raid. This took place in the beginning of the reign, say, in 725 or 726 H. which is quite clear from the words of 'Iṣāmī (F.S., p. 410):

شنیدم در آغاز ملک آن خدیو — بفرمود تا سرفرازان نیو
بلاهور بعد از دو ماهے رسید — قضا اختشرش را بگردون کشید
شنیدم که خودهم بلاهور ماند — سران سپه را بفرشور راند
بدان تا حدود دیار مغل — نهنگان هندي بتازند کل

III. About the rebellion of Bahāuddīn Gurshāsp 'Iṣāmī clearly writes that it took place after two years of peaceful reign by the Sulṭān. Thus we can easily fix it up in 727 H. (F.S., p. 411)—

چو سالے در بگذشت ازین سرگذشت
مزاج شه از عدل و احسان بگشت
چنان بدکما گشت بر خلق شهر
که شد نوشدارو مبدّل به زهر
چون در طبع خسرو بدید انقلاب
بر افگند از رزئی وحشت نقاب

IV. The conquest of Kandhiana has not been mentioned by any other contemporary authority. 'Iṣāmī definitely says that the campaign

against Kandhiana began after a few months of Gurshāsp's execution and the siege of Kandhiana Fort took eight months (F.S., p. 416):

چو بگذشت ازین ماجرا هشت ماه
بر آمد زهند و زیر کنگره آه

If we assign at least six months' time which the king took to suppress the rebellion of Gurshāsp, we come to the natural conclusion that Kandhiana Fort was conquered in the middle or latter part of 728 H.[1]

V. 'Iṣāmī records that the news of Bahrām Aiba's rebellion reached the Sulṭān first after the close of the campaign against Kandhiana (F.S., p. 418)—

چو در دولت آباد لشکر کشید یکی هفته از رنج راه آرمید
که بهرام آیبه ز خسرو بگشت ز زر بانگ دهقان ز فرقد گذشت

Thus we can fix this rebellion up definitely in 728 H. Simultaneously with this rebellion Bahādur Shāh Bura rebelled and was executed by the royalists which is quite evident from *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn*. 'Iṣāmī while describing the success of the Sulṭān against Bahrām Aiba and his death in a battle writes (F.S. p. 428):

چو شه گشت فارغ از ان کار و بار
فرو شست غوغاء شهر و دیار
یکی روز پیکی ز بهرام خان
ز لکهنوتی آمد شه شادمان
بگفتا شها بوره بر گشته بود
بخون خاک لکهنوتی آغشته بود
گرفتند آر را کشیدند پوست
که دشمن غمین گردد و شاد دوست

[1] F.S., p. 415 Gurshāsp held out at Gumta for two months

مهی یکدو آنجا همی ریخت خون همی خواست شور از درون و برون

Then at Mahenrag he held out for one month—

در آن دز بیکه ماه دادند جنگ به تیر و به نیزه بخشت و بسنگ

and then he crossed over to Dwarasamudra where he was arrested and sent to the king. Before coming to Gumta and crossing the Godawari he had already given battles to the Imperialists (F.S., p. 414).

All the available coins of Bengal issued jointly by Ghiaṣuddīn Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq go only up to 728 H. (J.A.S.B., Nums. Supplement, No. XXXV, pp. 152-53).[1]

VI. As regards the transfer of Delhi population to Daulatābād, 'Iṣāmī writes that the king passed this order after his return to Delhi from Multān. On F.S., pp. 428 to 429 the head-line runs رسیدن سلطان محمد شاه ابن تغلقشاه بعد فتح کشلیخان در دهلی و شادي کردن then he writes چهل روز طبل طرب می زدند (ع) and next concludes آغاز ظلم سلطان محمد شاه ابن تغلق شاه و روان کردن خلق در دوگیر Barnī (p. 479) corroborates 'Iṣāmi and tells us سلطان محمد از ملتان مظفر و منصور بازگشت و در دهلي آمد و در دیوگیر که خلق شهر با زن و بچه آنجا روانی شده بود فرمت رهم در دهلي ساکن گشت و در آن دو سال که سلطان در دهلي ماند امراء و ملوک و حشم برابر سلطان در دهلي بودند و زن بچه ایشان در دیوگهر-

'Iṣāmi (p. 441) has fixed this event prior to the introduction of face-value currency. He alleges that face-value currency was introduced as a measure to harrass the people who inspite of their migration to Daulatābād, showed signs of prosperity after their settlement there:

چو بشنید از منهیان فساد — که معمور شد باز هرسو بلاد
بدل گفت کین خلق آسوده حال — تلف می نگردد ز پشتي مال

We shall shortly convince that the face-value currency was issued in 730 H. If the latter part of 728 H. or early 729 H. be accepted as the date of the rebellion of Bahrām Aiba and Ghiaṣuddīn Bahādur Shāh then we could conveniently fix up 729 H. as the date of forced migration of Delhi population to Daulatābād.

VII. As regards the introduction of a token currency we can definitely fix the date as 730 H., as so far no currency is recovered which may have been coined prior to 730 H. All such coins begin from 730 H. (*vide* J.A.S.B., Vol. XVII of 1921, No. 1, pp. 147-52 under heading "Forced Currency"). As already described 'Iṣāmī

[1] Thomas refers to a coin of 730 H. issued by Ghiathuddin Bahadur Shah of Bengal. His reading is incorrrct. I have re-read the photographic reprint as given in his *Chronicles of Pathan Kings* on plate VI. Dr. N. K. Bhattashali and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad both agree with me that the unit seems to be *salas* which may be read as 713 or 723. I find Mr. Stapleton also holds the same view (J.A.S.B, 1922, p. 417).

clearly states that it was issued after the people had been forced to migrate to his new capital. He alleges that the Sulṭān felt very uneasy at finding the people prosperous even at Daulatābād where everything had settled up (F.S., p. 442):

چو بشنید از منهیان فساد که معمور شد باز هر سو بلاد
بدل گفت کین خلق آسوده حال تلف می نگردد ز پشتی مال
بدان تا ز سر سکّها نو زنند . همه مهر بر این و مس کنند

VIII. The "forced currency" was withdrawn after three years (F.S., p. 442,

چو زان مهر ناخوش برامد سه سال
همه خاک شد هر کجا بود مال
یکی روز فرمود آن زرپرست
که کس مهر مس را نگیرد بدست

How wonderfully accurate is 'Iṣāmī can be judged from this fact that all available face-value coins are found only about 730, 731 and 732 H. Thus the numismatic evidence thoroughly corroborates him. (*Vide* J.A.S.B., Vol. XVII of 1929, No. 1, pp. 147-52.)

IX. As regards the invasion of Tarma Shirin, the only contemporary record is that of 'Iṣāmī. Surely it did not take place after the arrival of Ibn Batuta (Muḥarrum 734 H.) as he would certainly have spoken of it in his account as an eye-witness. 'Iṣāmī further gives hints which help us in fixing up an approximate date, when he writes that the Qarāchāl expedition was taken only after a few months of rest after the repulse of Tarma Shirin:

چو رایات اعلی بحضرت رسید مهی چند حلقی بشهر آرمید
بدل گفت آن شاه آفاق سوز که معمور است این شهر و کشور هنوز
ز اقصائی دهلی سبک بگذرد سپه را بکوه قراچل برد

We shall shortly discuss and convince that the Qarāchāl expedition took place in 734 H. to which Ibn Batuta was a witness, of course from Delhi. If so, then we can conveniently fix 733 H. as the date of the invasion of Tarma Shirin.[1]

[1] Ibn Batuta further on hearsay writes that Tarma Shirin had come to Multan after being defeated by Ḥasan at Ghazna. It is difficult to say when he was defeated at Ghazna. *Maṭla us Saddain* though not contemporary, yet an early authority, has different dates. The MS. used by Lee (the translator of Ibn Batuta) had 732 H. If that be taken as correct then my humble theory is fully corroborated. But there are MSS. in the British Museum and India Office Libraries (as reported by Dr. Mahdi Hussain) which gives the date as 726 H.

X. Qarāchāl Expedition.—Decidedly this event took place when Ibn Batuta was in India (pp. 159, 160), so it must be concluded that it took place in or after Muḥarrum 734 H. when Ibn Batuta came to India (p. 1), and before Jamādī II 735 H. when the Sulṭān left for Ma'bar. As 'Iṣāmī (F.S., pp. 449-52) has stated in clear words that just when the Sulṭān was wrecking vengeance upon the fugitive soldiers of Qarāchāl campaign, Sayyid Jalāl became independent in Ma'bar.

XI. Rebellions of Jalāluddin Aḥsan Shāh in Ma'bar, Hushang in the Deccan, Halājūn, Gulchandar and Shāhu in Lahore.—There is no difficulty in fixing the date of the rebellion in Ma'bar. The coins of Jalāluddīn Shāh clearly give 735 H. (J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 344 and 1909, p. 573) and Ibn Batuta writes that the Sulṭān started against Ma'bar in Jamadi II. He also corroborates 'Iṣāmī when he writes that Hushang rebelled when the Sulṭān had withdrawn to Daulatabad after an epidemic in Tilangana (p. 1116, Urd. Tr). He further corroborates 'Iṣāmī (pp. 162-63, Urd. Tr.) that the task of crushing the rebellion of Halājūn at Lahore fell upon Khwajajehan as the Sulṭān was then at Daulatābād after withdrawing from Tilangana. Similarly corroborates Barnī (p. 481—Barnī refers only to a *fitna, i.e* , rebellion, at Lahore). Although Ibn Batuta refers only to the rebellion of Halājūn, whereas Barnī speaks vaguely of a *fitna*, yet 'Iṣāmī distinctly records that Halājūn, Gulchandar and Shahu combined and revolted at a time (F.S., p 451):

شنیدم گروهے ز راه غرور چو شه را ز لاهور دیدند دور
چو شاهو هلا جون و گل چند رهم بگشتند از شاه دریا حشم

XII. The Rebellion of Fakhruddīn Shāh in Bengal.—'Isāmī clearly mentions that it happened after the return of the Sulṭān from Daulatabad:

چو شه با حشم سر بدهلي کشید حشم از ر با ثبات کمتر رسید
یکی مرد کش فخر دین شد لقب به لکهنوتي او کرد شور ر شغب
پس از نقل بهرام خان گزین بر آورد چتری همان فخر دین

Ibn Batuta writes (p. 130, Urd Tr.) that the Sulṭān returned from Daulatābād after two and half years. We already know that he went towards Ma'bar in Jamadi I 735 hence his return would be in 737 H.

Numismatic evidence also supports it as there is a coin of Fakhruddin Shāh dated 737 H. (E. Thomas, p. 263, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings.*)[1]

XIII. The Royal camp at *Sargadwari* and the rebellion of 'Ainul Mulk took place after the Sulṭān's return from Daulatābād. There is no doubt about it. Ibn Batuta and Barnī are very useful in helping the settlement of the dates of these events. Ibn Batuta writes (p. 138) that the Sulṭān stayed at *Sargadwari* for about two and half years. Barnī (p. 492) writes that the Sulṭān removed his own name and substitu'ed the name of the *caliph* on coins after his return from *Sargadwari*. Thomas (pp. 259-60) points out that coins issued in 741 A.H. do not contain the Sulṭān's name. They, however, bear the caliph's name. The natural conclusion is that the Sulṭān returned from *Sargadwari* before 741 H. and if we subtract two and half years (the period of stay at *Sargadwari*) we easily get 738 H. It may, however, be the latter part of 738 H. or in early 739 H. when the Sulṭān went to *Sargadwari*.

As regards the rebellion of 'Ainul Mulk, 'Iṣāmī is fully corroborated by Ibn Batuta (p. 183) who records that 'Ainul Mulk rebelled when the king was camping at *Sargadwari*. Ibn Batuta himself was the king's companion there. He further writes that the Sulṭān returned about two and half years later and after 'Ainul Mulk's defeat. Thus we find that 'Ainul Mulk rebelled just and at the beginning of the Sulṭān's camp life at *Sargadwari* in 739 H.

XIV. As regards there bellion of Shihābuddīn Nuṣrat Khān Barnī (pp. 481, 488) writes that the Sulṭān had leased out Bedar and its *iqtas* to him for one crore silver *tanka*. He misappropriated the dues of three years and rebelled when the king was camping at *Sargadwari*. The calculation will easily give us 739 H. as in 736 H. the Sulṭān was at Daulatabad when he settled Bedar with Shihābuddīn. Moreover Barnī writes that the rebellion of Shihābūddin occurred when the Sulṭān was camping at *Sargadwari*.

XV. As regards the rebellion of 'Alī Shah Nathu, 'Iṣāmī is corroborated in his order of events as Ibn Batuta (p. 185) gives the following heading after describing the royal visit to Bahraicb during camp at *Sargadwari*: "The return of the Sulṭān to the capital and the rebellion of 'Alī Shah *Kar.*" Barnī also includes this event as one of

[1] Blochmann had doubted its reading (J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 252) and suggested 739 H. His suggestion is not convincing.

those events which took place during the king's camp at *Sargadwari* we can easily assign it in the early part of 741 H.

XVI. As regards the re-transfer of capital or permission to migrate back to Delhi and the recall of Qutlugh Khān, there are clear hints in 'Iṣāmī. He writes that Delhi after being depopulated regained its former splendour only after a period of fourteen years (F.S., p. 444):

بدهلي بجز نام دهلي نماند . سعادت سرانرا باندر بخواند
برين جمله تا چارده سال راست سعادت ازين ملک يکجو نکاست

If we accept 729 H. as the date of the forced migration from Delhi to Daulatābād, it is not difficult to find 742 H. for this event. Then 'Iṣāmi writes that this order was passed after the rebellion of 'Alī Shah Nathu (F.S., p. 479):

چون زين داستان روزگارے گذشت . خزانے درامد بهارے گذشت
بفرمانِ آن شاه آفاق گير سوئے خان قتلغ نبشته دبير
که هر کو هراخواه خسرو بود نبايد کز ايدر بدهلي رود

and Alap Khān who was entrusted with this work could complete it in about two years and similarly Qutlugh Khān was relieved by his brother Malik 'Alam two years after the order (F.S , p. 480)—

چو زين ماجرا ايک دو سالے گذشت
الب خان بپابوس شه خاص گشت
ملک عالم آمد بفرمان شاه
که خان را برادر بدان نيکخواه
بگشت اختر سعد از ديوگير
شد ان خان قتلغ عزيمت پذير

XVII. The rebellion of Qaẓī Jalāl in Baroda and the rising in the Deccan took place beyond any doubt one after another. 'Iṣāmi is supported *in toto* by Ibn Batuta (pp. 188-91) and Barnī. Barnī has settled the date. He writes (p. 509) that 'Azīz Khammār and Malik Muqbil were defeated by the rebels of Baroda in Ramẓān 745 A.H. Then Ibn Batuta writes that the Sulṭān was besieging Nāṣiruddīn with whom Qazī Jalāl had also taken shelter at Devagir Fort and this event took place during his stay in India (p. 191). Ibn Batuta

left India in 743 H. but returned to Ma'bar by or before 16th Sh'abān (p. 329) and to Bengal, (pp. 363-65) three months later. Then he left India for good in near about Zilq'ād 1345 H. Accoding to Barnī Daulatābād had been occupied by the Naurux (21st March) festival. Thus we find that before Zilq'ād Nāṣiruddīn had declared his independence. Additional evidence is that so long no coin of Muḥammad bin Tughluq has heen recovered which may belong to Daulatābād mint for latter than 745 A.H. (J.A.S:B., Nums. Supplt., No. XXXV, p. 142).

XVIII. As regards the rebellion of Taghī in Gujrat both 'Iṣāmī (F.S., p. 51) and Barnī (p. 516) record that the Sulṭān had to leave the siege of Devagir in the hands of Jauhar and Sartīz because of the rebellion of Taghī in Gujrat. 'Isāmi further writes (F S., p. 511)

دو ماهے شه دهلي انجا بماند بهردم بسے خون مومن شاند

that the Sulṭān stayed at Daulatābād only for two months. Thus we can safely assume that Taghī revolted in the closing months of 745 H. or early 746 H.

XIX. As regards the accession of 'Alāuddīn Bahman Shah there is no difficulty in settling the date as 'Iṣāmī clearly records 24th Pab'i II 748 A.H. (F.S., p. 525):

ز تاریخ چون هفتصد و چل گذشت زیادت دگر بر چهل رفت هشت

گذشت ربیع دوم بست و چار جهان گشته خرّم ز فصل بهار

Apart from the above-mentioned events there are certain important events of this reign about which 'Iṣāmī is silent. By the way it will be useful to reconstruct their chronology as well with the help of contemporary sources including 'Iṣāmī. These events are (*a*) preparation for the Khorasan expedition; (*b*) transfer of the capital to Daulatābād and (*c*) the famine.

(*a*) As regards preparation for the expedition against Khorasan luckily Mīr Khurd clearly writes in *Siyarul Āuliyā* (p. 271) that the Sulṭān was sending people of Delhi to Devagir and meditating the conquest of Khorasan. This definitely establishes the fact that the Sulṭān planned this expedition in the year when he was sending his people to Daulatābād. Moreover we read in the pages of Ibn Batuta (p. 457) that Khorasanians helped Bahrām Aiba. It may be that the Sulṭān planned the invasion of their country just after the rebellion of Bahrām Aiba. Thus we may fix the date in early 729 H.

(*b*) As regards the transfer of the capital to Daulatābād, I am inclined to agree with Badauni who opined that the transfer of capital was effected first and the population of Delhi was ordered to migrate on another occasion. It is quite likely that he did so after the rebellion of Gurshāsp. I fix up middle or later part of 727 A.H. as the date. The coins of the period stand as my evidences. All coins belonging to Devagir and bearing such epithets as "قبة الاسلام" ; "حضرت" or تخت گاہ go back to only 727 A.H. (*vide* J.A.S.B., Nums. Supplt., XVII of 1921, No. 1, pp. 132-52). Moreover it cannot be before 727 H. as Badrshāch definitely mentioned Delhi as the capital in the year 727 H. (*Sharh-e-Qasaid Badrehāch*, Lucknow edition, pp. 181-82. The chronogram was فاد خلوها = 727 H.)

(*c*) As regards the famine, Ibn Batuta clearly writes that the famine set in first after the king had left the capital for M'abar in order to proceed against Jalāludhin Aḥsan Shāh (p. 194). At another place he writes (p. 226) that he (Ibn Batuta) did excellent famine relief work as *Mutwalli* of the Mausoleum of Qutubuddīn and this fact when reported to the Sulṭān after his retreat to Daulatābād met with approbation. Then (on p. 170) he writes that the Sulṭān moved to the bank of the Ganges (*Sargadwari*) when the scarcity took a very severe turn. Then (on p. 138) he writes that the Sulṭān stayed at *Sargadwari* for about two and a half years. Thus there remains no doubt that the scarcity began in 735 H., took a serious turn in 738 H. and persisted till 740 H.

I may add here that even if we take 725 H. and not 724 H. as the date of the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, my contention that the *Futūḥus Salaṭīn* records events in the most scientific and perfect chronological order, is not affected in the least.

MY DAYS

CYRIL MODAK

Like convicts clanking cumbrous chains
The days go by
In single file. All that remains
A thin long sigh
Across the grass, three faded stains
Upon the sky.

... ...

There's nothing to be lost or won
In all this blight;
There's nothing to be said or done
Save one 'Good-night'!
Nothing's achieved beneath the sun
Save sightless sight.

... ...

This widowed Silence understands,
So let me prate!
And shadowy foes come o'er the sands,
So let me hate!
My days go by with empty hands,
For I must wait!

... ...

Round the World

British Pubilc Schools.

Recently we had news from England that the Public Schools in that country which were so long the close preserve of upper class boys would henceforward be thrown open to boys of lower middle and labour classes as well. These are all ancient institutions and the more famous of them are more than three hundred years old. Winchester was founded in 1384, Eton in 1440, St. Paul's in 1510, Shrewsbury in 1552, Westminster in 1560, Rugby in 1567, Harrow in 1571, Charterhouse in 1612. That these Public Schools have not been very popular in many circles is testified to by the humourous observation: "They are called English because they teach Latin and Greek; Public because they are private; and Schools because no small part of the time is allotted to athletics." In fact both the curriculum of studies followed in these schools and the exclusive and athletic atmosphere maintained therein have been responsible to a considerable degree for the severe heart-searching about them in recent years. In the last century Dr. Arnold, who made himself famous as the Head-Master of Rugby, changed the curriculum of studies to some extent and otherwise introduced reforms which made his school an excellent training ground of leaders. Gradually the modern side was added to all the Public Schools and instruction was no longer exclusively classical. The emphasis on athletics, however, did not diminish but increased with the passing on of years. The apologists have pointed out no doubt that just as it will be a gross exaggeration to say that gesture is the first and only factor of oratory, so also it is an absurd exaggeration to think that athletics swallow the major portion of the time and attention of the students of the Public Schools. They are an important and healthy factor of Public School life but they do not cover the whole or even the greater portion of it. This apology is, however, taken with a grain of salt and the general impression continues that athletics engross the life and attention of the boys. The second and certainly the more important reason for the unpopularity of these Schools consists in the exclusive character of these rich foundations. They are, it may be repeated, the close preserve of upper class boys whose families can spend large sums of money upon their education. Here they grow in the company of the boys of their own class and have no opportunity of brushing shoulders with the boys coming from poorer and working classes. Naturally and inevitably they develop a class mentality and outlook and become out of sympathy with those groups of people who are less fortunately placed in life and society. In older days when the country was governed by an oligarchy, this system of education was quite appropriate but it does not fit in at all with the democratic system of to-day. The admission of boys of the lower middle and working classes to these institutions will not certainly do away with this anachronism. These boys may be awarded scholarships which will facilitate their stay in these Schools for several years. With enough to live upon they will gradually conform as much to the standard of living as to the outlook on life of the richer boys of the upper classes. The fact that they have come from lower stratum of society is unlikely to help in the transformation of the Schools into democratic institutions.

The Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

On the 27th June last it was announced in Moscow that elections to the Supreme Soviet were postponed for one year. This was due to the war conditions. The present Supreme Soviet was elected in December, 1937 and its life was accordingly to expire towards the close of this year. The Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. consists of two Chambers—(i) the Soviet of the Union and (ii) the Soviet of Nationalities. The former is elected by the citizens of the Union " according to electoral areas on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population." It now consists of 569 deputies. The Soviet of Nationalities is intended to represent not the people of the Union as a whole but the people of different units of the Union as units. The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics consists in the first instance of eleven units called Soviet Socialist Republics. Some of these latter in their turn include within them certain territories which cannot have the status of these units but which require some kind of autonomy and as such they are known as Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and national areas. Now all these units are represented in the Soviet of Nationalities. Article 35 of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R lays down " The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U. S. S. R according to Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and national areas on the basis of twenty-five deputies from each Union Republic, eleven deputies from each Autonomous Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Region and one deputy from each national area." It now consists of 574 deputies. Of the deputies returned to the Soviet of the Union in 1937, 81 per cent. are Communists and 19 per cent. non-Party people, while 71 per cent. of the deputies returned to the Soviet of Nationalities are Communists and 29 per cent. non-Party people. According to another classification, it may be pointed out, the deputies of the Soviet of the Union are 45·2 per cent. workers, 23·5 per cent. peasants and 31·3 per cent. Office workers and Soviet intelligentsia. Similarly deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities are 38·9 per cent. workers, 35·3 per cent. peasants and 25·8 per cent. Office workers and Soviet intelligentsia. Of the 1,143 members of the two Chambers 189 are women and 954 men. Most of these men and women are young, the age of thirteen varying from 18 to 20, of 84 from 21 to 25, of 187 from 26 to 30, only 312 being above forty.

J. A. Spender and Indian Civilisation.

The death of Mr. J. A. Spender at the age of eighty was recently announced. As a journalist of great ability and as a publicist of rare integrity he enjoyed a reputation which was not confined to his own country. A student of classics at Oxford, he maintained his liberalism in culture and outlook throughout his life. A prolific writer, he brought out in 1938 a very readable book called the *Government of Mankind*. We are naming this work not because it is the best of his books but because he had opportunity of evincing only in this work his interest in civilisations other than his own. It is curious that in tracing the history of government both in theory and in practice he referred to the principles and systems preached and practised in all other countries except India. Researches on Hindu Polity have now become fairly old and they have established also certain definite truths. A book called the *Government of Mankind* which contains chapters on political speculation and practice of ancient as well as modern countries is certainly incomplete without due reference to Hindu Political Theories. How is this omission to be explained? The late Mr. Spender

was not certainly uninterested in India. He visited this country and has referred even in this book to the Indian Civil Service and other features of the Government created by the British in India. Then was this omission due to his desire not to give any publicity to any Indian achievement which cannot be traced to British initiative?

America Relations Officer.

The Special Representative of the Statesman at New Delhi reports to his journal that a British gentleman named Sir Evelyn Wrench has been appointed by the Government of India as America Relations Officer. In this capacity he is entrusted with " the goodwill work to guide and assist " the American press correspondents and civilians who are now in this country " to see Indian life and Indian administration in its various phases." The appointment is unfortunate for more than one reason. In the first place no Britisher, however experienced in Indian affairs, has any effective knowledge of Indian life and this gentleman has been in this country only for about six months. It is not expected that he has himself been acquainted with the realities of Indian life and how will it be possible for him to introduce the American journalists and other visitors from the new world to them? Secondly, the appointment strengthens the impression which has been created in many circles that any Tom-Dick-Harry from the British Isles is being provided under the Government with a fat berth at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. The Government of India instead of doing anything to remove this impression is taking one step after another which makes it more real and vivid. It should be emphasised that if social and cultural relations between the Indians and the Americans are to be developed and strengthened, that can be done on right lines only through Indian liaison officers. In the Information Bureau of the Government of India there are many competent Indians. Why could not one among them be deputed to such work? In fact there was no dearth of Indians to take up work of this character. We may point out in passing that in Calcutta also a China Relations Officer of the Government of India has been appointed and the appointment has gone in this instance to a British member of the Indian Civil Service who has recently retired from an important administrative post. Social, cultural, political, and economic relations between the Indians and the Chinese certainly require strengthening. But that is a task which only an Indian can perform. Nothing in fact is more absurd than for a Britisher to be entrusted with the function of developing closer understanding between Indians and the peoples of other countries.

Fall of Sebastopol.

After eight months of seige the city of Sebastopol has fallen into the hands of the Germans. During this long period the city suffered daily raids and it is really a marvel that when the rest of the Crimea was in German hands and when twice or thrice a day the people had to suffer from air raids, Sebastopol still managed to hold out for eight long months. This is, however, not the first occasion that this harbour city which retains its old Greek name has given evidence of staying power. In the last century there was a war between Russia on the one side and Turkey, Britain, France and Sardinia on the other. This is known in history as the Crimean War and was waged between 1853 and 1856. The seige of Sebastopol was its chief feature and parts of the campaign were represented by the famous battles of Balaklava and Inkermann. The seige of

Sebastopol lasted on this occasion for eleven months and the city was defended during this period by the able and intrepid Russian Engineer, Todleben. It may be pointed out in passing that the Crimean peninsula of which Sebastopol is the harbour is of about the same size as Holland. In ancient times it was colonised by the Greeks and was part and parcel of the Byzantine Empire. Later it was conquered by the Tartars and Poles and until the close of the 18th century it was under the rulership of the Tartar Khans. The old capital was Bagchiserai. Although the capital was removed to Simferopulo, Bagchiserai was maintained as a museum. Its thirty mosques and the palace built by Empress Catherine were objects of visit by curious men from every part of the world. There are other places in the Crimea, e.g., Yalta and Levadia which were at one time the pleasure resorts of princes and nobles but which under the Soviet regime became the health resorts of tired workers and convalescent patients.

A Post-War Italian Republic?

Sometime ago the *Spectator* referred to an organisation which was being set up by the Italian residents of the U. S. A. It also pointed out that Count Sforza who had been at one time Foreign Minister of Italy was likely to take up the leadership of this new organisation. The chief object of this body is to determine the form of government for post-war Italy. Count Sforza wrote a letter early in this year to the *New York Times* in which he suggested that after the war there should be a plebiscite in Italy regarding the form of government which the people desired. If it declared in favour of a republic, the monarchy should be abolished. Besides, he thinks that this abolition of the monarchy would not meet with any serious opposition in any quarter. Now that Count Sforza is to take up the leadership of the new organisation, it may be taken for granted that it will work for the acceptance of a republican system in post-war Italy. It may be asked as to why the Italian monarchy has lost so much of its old prestige with the people as to go down without any serious opposition from any quarter. In the achievement of democracy and unity in Italy in the last century the services of the Sardinian monarchy were inestimable. Charles Albert could easily have withdrawn the charter which he had granted and live, without any altercation with the Austrian Government, as the ruler of his state. But he stood by the charter and abdicated rather than go back upon his plighted word. His successor, Victor Emmanuel, was a statesman whose services to the cause of Italian unity have certainly been overshadowed by those of others. But they are to be recognised and not ignored. Why then has the prestige of the dynasty touched so low an ebb? It is generally thought that too much deference of the monarch to the Duce has undermined his position in the country.

Expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Executive Council of the Governor-General has been further expanded. The total membership of the Council excluding the Governor-General himself is now fifteen. The basis of the composition of this expanded body is what Mr. Amery has so assiduously canvassed during the last two years. India, in his opinion, is not a nation but a conglomeration of disjointed communities with conflicting interests and on this account all or more important of them should, for the sake of justice, be represented as such both in the legislature and in the executive. The non-official members have accordingly been chosen on the ground of their affiliation to

this or that community. The underlying principle of composing the expanded Council is objectionable from the nationalist point of view and it has been made more objectionable still by the non-official European community securing representation upon this body. Recently there has been a serious attempt on the part of the non-official Britishers in India to prove that they are citizens of this country. It may be said in this connection that there is no uniform procedure of acquiring citizenship in different parts of the world. It has to be decided upon by the Government of the country concerned. Legally and constitutionally the supreme authority in India vests in the British Parliament. We were told by our teachers at school that the British Parliament could do everything except that it could not make a man a woman and a woman a man. We now find that it can at least make a Britisher an Indian without changing his colour or transforming his dress. But whatever that might be, there is no gainsaying the fact that the special interests of the European community in India have always been regarded as inconsistent with the interests of the general body of the Indian people. The latter would even prefer a British official to a non-official European. In view of this it will be idle to think that the appointment of Sir Edward Benthall to a portfolio of vital importance will go without challenge here. If further proof of absolute diehardism in high quarters was required by any body, it is supplied by this appointment.

Defence Member.

Sir Firoze Khan Noon who had been High Commissioner for India in London and who had recently been included in the Viceroy's Executive Council as Member in charge of the Labour portfolio has now been given the new portfolio of Defence. The creation of such a portfolio was first talked of when the Congress leaders were negotiating with Sir Stafford Cripps in spring last at New Delhi. Every body knows that the Congress Working Committee was not satisfied with the powers and functions which were to be taken out of the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and handed over to the Defence Member. According to an Associated Press message ten functions will be entrusted to Sir Firoze but it must be admitted that none of them will give him vital authority in respect of the conduct of the War, which will remain vested in the Commander-in-Chief. But in any way there will be now two members in the Viceroy's Council concerned with military affairs.

It may be recalled in this connection that prior to 1906 this Council had two members, both soldiers, one being known as the Commander-in-Chief and the other as Military Member. There was a clear bifurcation of duties between them. The Commander-in-Chief had under him the departments of the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General and the Principal Medical Officer while the Military Member was responsible for the administrative work of the army and had under him the departments of Director-General of Ordinance, the Director-General of Supply and Transport and the Director-General of Military Works. The Military Member in other words "combined the functions of administration and supply, besides being the authority to whom the Commander-in-Chief had to refer for sanction all such proposals as required the orders of Government." This system under which the Government of India had two military advisers was abandoned in 1906 as a result of the insistence of the late Lord Kitchener and a new arrangement was set up under which the Commander-in-Chief became the sole military adviser to the Government

but under which a new department of Military Supply was also created and entrusted to another soldier with the rank of a Major-General and with a seat on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. This new arrangement did not last long. It was abandoned in 1909 and everything concerning military affairs was now handed over to the control of the Commander-in-Chief.

It may be pointed out here that this great functionary had until 1909 to communicate with the British War Office through the India Office. But from 1909 and more particularly during the last War this rule was relaxed and the Commander-in-Chief of India communicated directly with the War Office. The Army in India Committee which was constituted in 1919, was presided over by Lord Esher, and reported in 1920, recommended that the Commander-in-Chief should by right and not on sufferance communicate direct with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and he should be appointed on this account on the recommendation of the latter. It was further suggested by the Committee that the Army Department and the Headquarters Staff which had been kept separate so long should be consolidated under one head. All these suggestions and recommendations of the Esher Committee were accepted by His Majesty's Government, and consequently the Commander-in-Chief both in peace and war time has been appointed since then in India on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and has enjoyed the right to communicate with him direct both in peace and in war.

It is also interesting, in view of the appointment of the new Defence Member, to remember that the majority of the members of the Esher Committee recommended that while affairs regarding the army should remain vested in the Commander-in-Chief, " production and provision and the administration of the Royal Indian Marine should be entrusted to a civilian Member of the Executive Council." But this recommendation, which was opposed by the minority including Lord Esher himself, was turned down.

Alternative Premiers.

That there is hardly any body with necessary prestige and stature to replace Churchill as Premier has become a source of anxiety to many in Britain to-day. Apart from the present Prime Minister doing anything which may alienate public sympathy and necessitate the installation of another person at 10; Downing Street, there are the exigencies of War which also have to be reckoned with. If for any reason the British people are to think of a new Premier, they may find themselves at sea. Professor Laski has emphasised in an article in the Political Quarterly that there was never a time in Britain when the Prime Minister outdistanced so much his colleagues as well as opponents in capacity, prestige and popular confidence, as Mr. Churchill does. This does not mean that Mr. Churchill is as a statesman a class by himself, superior to all past Prime Ministers of Britain. This does only mean that his colleagues and opponents (if he has any worth the name) are lesser men without little pretension to the category of first class statesmen. Lloyd George showed genius as an organiser of the allied offensive during the last War and enjoyed considerable popular support and confidence but he had always either by his side or in the opposition men like Bonar Law, Arthur Balfour, Lord Curzon and Mr. Asquith. But now there is hardly anybody in British public life who can be named in the same breath as Churchill. Why so? Evidently this crisis in the supply of front rank public men has not been brought about by one single cause. It is the result of many causes and many forces which have been at work for

decades. But one or two of these causes may be mentioned. For years together neither the Conservative nor the Labour Party has done anything to attract to it the best brains still available in the country. Brilliant young conservatives were actually discouraged in their endeavours to serve the Party. They would not be offered any safe and less expensive seat. And in fact nothing would be done to bring them into the House of Commons, where, the leaders thought, what was necessary for them was vote and not intelligent support. No wonder then that when talent was at a discount, the Party had less and less of it as years passed by. As for the Labour Party there also the same phenomenon was noticeable. The funds came mostly from the Trade Unions and as they paid the piper they would call the tune as well. The safe seats had to go to them. Brilliant young men without a long purse had little or no opportunity of coming into the House of Commons. The Trade Unions besides allowed only those of their leaders who had become rather ramshackle to contest parliamentary elections. It should also be noted that trade union management has hardly thrown up a leader of the first class. There is something narrow about it which makes its leaders rather cramped in imagination and outlook. Then it should also be pointed out that the leaders of the last ten years, particularly on the conservative side, became so discredited because of their association with and share in the Baldwin and Chamberlain system that they had no chance of swaying public opinion after the first defeats in the present War. If peace were maintained and the hollowness which is noticeable now were not opened to the public gaze, there is no doubt about it that men like Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Simon could have still posed as great statesmen. But now that they are lost leaders, there are none to take their place.

Sir Azizul Huque and Indian Differences.

At a reception given at Liverpool to Sir Muhammad Azizul Huque, the High Commissioner for India, by the British Council, he pointed out that "India has differences but what country in the world is without its differences?" He also emphasised that essentially the Indians were a united nation. It is good that Sir Muhammad who was for nearly four years the Vice-Chancellor of this University has stressed this point at a cultural gathering in Britain. The differences in India have been emphasised by interested people during the whole period of our political connection with Britain. But they were never so emphasised and brazenfacedly exaggerated as they have been during the last one decade and particularly since the accession of Mr. Amery to the India Office. Every nation in the world is more or less polyglot in character and composition. The different elements which make it up become dormant, or assertive according as they are discouraged or stimulated by external forces. The Czechs and the Sudetan Germans lived side by side in peace and unity for over a decade and a half in the Czechoslovak Republic. Herr Henlein who became later such an enthusiast for the separation of the Sudetan land himself referred to this amity in 1935. But once the Government of Hitler began to speak of the grievances of the Sudetan Germans, the latter became restive and discontented. They now thought that they and the Czechs were strange bed-fellows and must separate. In the United States, peoples of different nationalities are living together and calling themselves Americans. But could not in other circumstances their differences be magnified and their amity destroyed. Such instances may be multiplied to any degree.

The fact is that if the people of many other countries are a nation, India is also a nation.

Post-War Reconstruction and Sir Theodore Gregory.

A message from New Delhi tells us that Sir Theodore Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, has left for abroad to study at first hand the scheme of post-war reconstruction which are being formulated in Great Britain and the United States of America. That these two countries have been engaged in the study of this problem on a scientific basis has been known to us all. That persons who are to evolve such a plan of reconstruction in India after the War should have direct acquaintance with the development of studies in this line in Great Britain and the U. S. A. may also be admitted at once. But what we should point here is that such an experience to be gained at the expense of the Indian tax-payers ought to have been acquired by some qualified Indian or Indians. Professor Gregory is one of the experts imported from Great Britain during the present Viceroyalty. We are aware of the reputation he has acquired as a scholar and as a teacher. But all the same we believe that the post which has gone to him ought to have gone to some suitable Indian economist. Reputation is in most cases a matter of opportunity. An Indian scholar chosen with discrimination might have proved as efficient, if not more efficient, as an adviser to the Government of India. We say he might have proved more efficient than the present incumbent, because we believe that India being his own country he would have appreciated far more the interests of this country than any outsider, however, distinguished. So the initial mistake was made when Sir Theodore was imported from outside. The second mistake was committed when he was sent to the United States to study the possibilities of Indian trade expansion in that country. It may be pointed out that as he was the Economic Adviser he was the fittest person to undertake this task. Not necessarily so. The field work—the work of personal investigation—might have been entrusted to some suitable Indian who in that case would have the opportunity of acquiring valuable experience in this matter. The results of his experience might have been placed at the disposal of the Economic Adviser. The procedure which ought to have been followed in that case should have been followed in the present work of studying British and American post-war planning as well. We know that a Committee of University Professors of Economics has been at work for some time past regarding this subject. Why could not one of them be chosen to undertake this tour. If all such tours are monopolised by outsiders, we do not see how Indian aspirants can acquire necessary experience and knowledge. The choice of the Government of India has been unfortunate.

Ministry of Social Affairs in China.

Inspite of collaboration with the Communists, the Government of Chiang Kai-shek in China is based on the Kuomintang ideals. In other words it pins its faith to individualist principles. But the exigencies of War have made it necessary to undertake action which may not exactly fit in with such principles. A Ministry of Social Affairs has for instance been at work for sometime past. It is the function of this Ministry to guide certain important movements which have been set on foot in the country. National Spiritual Mobilisation Movement, the New Life Movement and the Thrift Movement are among those guided by the Ministry.

It is also looking to the welfare of the people in present emergency in other ways as well. A Social Insurance Bill has for instance been sponsored by it. Besides, it has been responsible for opening certain service stations in different towns of free China. They offer to the people cultural services through reading rooms and libraries, economic services by granting small loans, and every day service through small mail boxes, travel assistance, hostels and dining rooms. They also serve the people by securing employment for them. When due to War life in every respect has fallen out of gear, it is good that the Ministry of Social Affairs is doing its best to fill the void. The Chinese Government, we have been told, has done its best to keep up an educational organisation for the instruction of the next generation. But even then an opportunity for culture must have been very limited in these troublous times. It is good on this account that the service stations established recently are maintaining libraries and reading rooms. The everyday services which are being rendered are of the same kind as those offered in Great Britain now by the Citizens' Assistance Bureaux. These services must be of considerable value to the people in these days.

P. A. Hansson.

The rumour has been categorically contradicted in Stockholm that M. Hansson, the Prime Minister of Sweden, has been assassinated. We do not know anything of the source of this rumour. Nor do we know if he has antagonised too much of late any section of the people as to encourage an attempt on his life.

Per Albin Hansson is the leader of the Social Democratic Party (which is also called the Labour Party) and "the most outstanding political personality in Sweden." For over fifteen years since the outbreak of the last War in which Sweden was a neutral as in the present War there was a number of weak coalition governments in that country. None of the parties or groups commanded any majority or could even be regarded as more influential than the rest. Consequently there were only shifting coalitions and no Government formed on this basis could be strong and stable. But as a result of the efforts of Hansson and his colleagues, the Social Democratic Party began to grow in influence and strength. The spade work had been done by Branting who had been returned to the legislature in 1896 and who led the Labour Party for quite a number of years. The able leadership of Hansson put the coping stone on his work and since 1932 the party has caught the imagination of the country. In 1936 in the Lower House of the Legislature which consisted of 230 members this party had by itself 112. As it had not exactly a majority it entered into coalition with the Farmers' Party which commanded 36 votes. Besides it had occasionally the support of parties further to the left, *e.g.*, Left Socialists and Communists who had eleven representatives in the Lower House. The result is that a strong Government now became possible. But such Government which cannot be overthrown at any moment is disliked by many people who have now little chance of forming an alternative government. It may be that on this account M. Hansson has become the *bete noir* of some influential persons.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Indian States' Problem.—By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, Gujerat. Pp. xvi+687. Price Rs. 4.

The book is divided into three parts, the first and the third consisting of selections from Mahatma Gandhi's writings on the Indian States. These arranged in chronological order offer the obvious advantage of enabling the reader to see for himself the gradual crystallisation of his opinion on this political problem. Part II includes texts of the documents referred to by Gandhiji as well as the writings of some of his colleagues and lieutenants which supplement his writings and utterances. An index adds to the usefulness of the book and enables the busy man who cannot find time to read the whole book to refer to any particular aspect of the problem in which he may be interested.

The first piece, an extract from the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi, strikes the keynote of the volume and shows the sturdy spirit of independence which is one of the most prominent features in the character of India's great leader. The first of the two incidents referred to in it happened in Calcutta when Lord Curzon held his durbar. One of the Maharajahs stated that like *khansamas* they wore trousers, turbans, etc., and not the ordinary Indian dress which they preferred because they were the Viceroy's *khansamas*. They had to attend it though they would enjoy no opportunity of exchanging a single word with him for absence would be construed as disloyalty.

It is against this background that the reader has to think of the treatment meted out by Indian Princes to their subjects. "A tyrant," it has been said "is a slave turned inside out." The Indian rulers may think that they enjoy independence because many of them have the power of inflicting capital punishment. Gandhiji holds a different view. Independence implies the will and the ability to protect their subjects against oppression. This power they do not enjoy and the "will to protect," he contends, has been lost through disuse.

That Mahatma Gandhi is no enemy of the Indian Princes and is prepared to make allowances for their weaknesses is evident when he exhorts States' subjects not to irritate them for "they are, after all, rulers and are therefore like all men in authority. Authority blurs the vision. We cannot have Rama in every age, nor Umar..... Wherever I find a ruler getting irritated or angry, I am patient with him. For anger is natural to them as much as to you or me if we were similarly placed. Kings are no more philosophers or saints than any of us."

This truly charitable attitude proceeding from the recognition of human frailty explains the various ways in which Mahatma Gandhi has fought the battle of the States' peoples for the attainment of civic rights. Wherever there have been clashes between the rulers and the ruled he has, while claiming the rights of the latter, never failed to point out to them the

fundamental connection between rights and duties and that insistence on the enjoyment of the former presupposes performance of the latter.

Gandhiji's position is that like Abubaker and Hazrat Umar, like Rama and Janaka, the Indian Princes should regard themselves as trustees of the revenues of their states spending on themselves only what is demanded by their position. Their subjects too must see to it that they offer opposition of the right type to their rulers when they become oppressive. This opposition should take the form of "loving non-co-operation" and the subjects should continue to look on their rulers as their father and be ready to enter into a compromise on the least sign of yielding.

These fundamental principles from which Mahatma Gandhi has never departed consciously have shaped his activities so far as the Indian States are concerned.

There cannot be any doubt that the present collection which gives within the compass of one volume and in his own words, Mahatma Gandhi's views on the Indian States is very useful in view of the intrinsic importance of the subject, the part played by our great national leader in settling from time to time differences between the Princes and their subjects and specially because of what is regarded as interference in the internal affairs of Indian States by Congressmen in their individual capacity.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Status of Indian Princes.—By Pyarelal Nair, with a Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, Gujerat. Pp. iv+44. Price Annas Four.

This short but interesting and informative pamphlet contains seven chapters. These are articles on this subject contributed by the author to the "Harijan" in 1939 and 940. The picture drawn of a well-known Indian State the ruler of which enjoys the reputation of being a leader among Princes and a pillar of the British Government is a lurid one. In the last two chapters the author proves by reference to standard authorities that the Indian States constitute one of the bulwarks of what National India calls British Imperialism and in doing so gives the successive steps of their devolopment as such.

The third and fourth chapters are devoted to a discussion of the status of the Indian Princes. It is proved beyond any dispute that they have always been treated as subordinate allies of the Paramount Power. The author's contention is that in any future constitution of India, the Indian States cannot expect to enjoy independence and at the same time to interfere with the affairs of British India. If the British Government hands over its responsibilities to a Federal India, these will also include the sovereign powers it now exercises over the Indian States.

The author pleads with the Indian Princes to confer on their subjects the same rights and privileges which are enjoyed by the British Indians and shows how similar requests had been made in the past by successive Viceroys. He also maintains that just as the British Government has undertaken to maintain the Princes on their *gadis* so long as they do not misbehave themselves, in exactly the same way it owes a duty to the States' subjects to see that they are allowed to enjoy the same rights and privileges as their countrymen who live in British India.

We feel no hesitation in recommending this exceedingly well-written and thought-provoking book to every one desirous of knowing something about the Indian States within the compass of fifty pages or so. We also congratulate the Navajivan Press on the valuable work it is doing by the publication of excellent pamphlets of this type on the burning political problems of the day.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Ganiter Bhitti.—By Dr. Jyotirmaya Ghosh, M.A., Ph D. Published by the Calcutta University.

This is a handbook written in Bengali dealing with the three fundamental concepts of Mathematics, namely, the number, the space and the time. Although there is no dearth of literature on these subjects, including those which are critical and historical, in the English and other European languages, this book is the first of its kind in the Bengali language. The book is intended to be a popular one and is written in an easy and simple style, free from complicated mathematical ideas, so that it can be read with advantage by non-mathematicians as well. The University of Calcutta has recently given an impetus to the growth of mathematical literature in Bengali by its publication of 'Paribhasa' and the author has taken the initiative to give an interesting account in Bengali of some of the fundamental aspects of Mathematics.

In the part dealing with 'Number,' such topics as the directed number, rational and irrational numbers, complex number have been treated. A reference has also been made to matrices and tensors. In the part dealing with 'Space,' the idea of distance, the various kinds of the coordinates of a point, the dimensionality of space have been treated A reference is also made to the non-Euclidean and the Riemannian spaces. In the part dealing with 'Time,' the necessity of choosing a convenient unit of time with reference to the mean solar day has been discussed.

Considering all the factors, it can be unhesitatingly said that the author has succeeded in his task in a remarkable manner, and the book is sincerely welcome.

R. N. S.

Suttanipata (translated into Bengali).—By Bhikṣu Śīlabhadra. Mahabodhi Society, 4A, College Square, Calcutta. 1348 B S.

The *Suttanipāta* is a very important and well-known Buddhist canonical work. Like the *Dhāmmapda* it is an anthology in Pali, and is composed in 1149 stanzas with occasional prose passages. It represents the whole of what is the best in Buddhism. One of the Seven passages in the Buddhist texts mentioned by Asoka in his Bhabru edict is *Munigāthā*, and this is to be found under the name of *Munisutta* in this book (I. 12, verses 207-211). As says Fausböll, it is "an important contribution to the right understanding of primitive Buddhism, for we see here a picture not of life in monastaries, but of life of the hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematizing of the later Buddhist Church, but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness." Its language is full of Vedic forms.

It is not less than forty years back that the *Suttanipāta* was for the first time translated into Bengali in verse by Śrī Dharmarāja Baduyā who was also the author of a Buddist manual entitled *Bauddha Hastasāra*. Both the works are now available only in some libraries, one of them being Visva Bharti Library, Santiniketan.

Bhikṣu Śrī Śīlabhadra deserves our thanks for his present attempt, though it is not successful. The translation can hardly be recommended, as it not only leaves much to be desired, but is also defective in various respects. It may, therefore, be used with much caution.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYYA.

U.S.A.: An Outline of the Country, Its People and Institutions.— By D. W. Brogan. Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 144. Price 2*s*. 6*d*. Net.

The author is the Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge. His knowledge of the American people and institutions is wide and deep. Professor H. J. Laski observed in introducing about a decade ago a book of the author on the American Political System that he had greater acquaintance with the nook and corner of American social and political life than any other living Englishman. The little book which is before us now bears ample testimony to Mr. Brogan's grasp of men and things in the United States.

As the sub-title envisages, the book does not concentrate on the discussion of any particular aspect of America. It acquaints us in rough outline with the physical conditions, racial distribution of the people, the system of government and politics under which they live, the different religions they practise, the character of the press which influences public opinion, the educational organisation which has been reared, and the literature, arts and sports which have been developed in the country. It is not expected that any of these different subjects would be discussed in full in a small book here under review. But many of the details incorporated in the seven chapters are as interesting as they are informative.

Speaking about the mosaic of the American population, the author refers to the Negroes who are still "under-privileged" as citizens. Not to speak of the South where two-thirds of this community are concentrated and where it is "kept in its place," in the North also which does not theoretically make any discrimination against the Negroes, their position is not very happy. "Even in New York's Harlem, which has the greatest and the most prosperous block, the Negro population has to pay higher rents and on the whole accept lower wages than the equivalent white classes." The Jews also cannot be said to be welcome in the country. In fact "Anti-Semitism in America is prevalent at all levels of society, but with varying degrees of intensity in different areas."

The press in the United States is less influential than it is supposed to be. In 1936 most of the Newspapers were against Roosevelt but inspite of it he achieved the greatest electoral victory in American history. The country being vast, none of these papers again can really be called national. Their circulation is as a rule limited to the territories round about the city in which they are published. Some of the well-known of these newspapers are owned and controlled by the Jews. *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* are among them.

The utility of the book has been enhanced by the incorporation in an appendix of the Constitution of the United States with all the Amendments. The number of people interested in the United States is on the increase in this country. They will increase their knowledge of America by reading this small book.

Canada.—By B. K. Sandwell. Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 124. Price 2/6.

This small book is in the same series (The World To-day) as the the previous one on the United States. But it is planned differently and has proved to be less effective as a contribution to general information. The author was for sometime an Assistant Professor of Economics at the McGill University, Montreal, and is now the Managing Editor of a journal at Toronto. In view of his experience as a teacher and as a journalist, it was expected that the work he produced would supply necessary information to outsiders curious about Canada. But he has unnecessarily dived too much into history and placed too much emphasis upon one or two aspects, ignoring the rest.

Information about the French Canadians has been rightly given in some detail. But here also it is rather scattered throughout the book and is not concentrated in any one chapter. Many other topics which ought to have received the attention of the author have either been ignored altogether or dismissed in a few lines. The party system for instance has been referred to but few details have been supplied. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party is growing in strength in the Dominion but no mention has been made of it at all. Some information has been conveyed about education. But there is nothing about the Universities and the position they occupy in Canadian life. The press also has not been given any importance.

We believe the choice of the author in respect of this book was unfortunate. A man like Professor Scott of McGill might have been entrusted with this work with greater advantage to the seekers after information about Canada.

N. C. R.

Ourselves

[*I. Availability of Beds in Medical Colleges and Standard of Instruction. —II. Affiliation of the St. Edmund's College, Shillong.—III. Research on "Fermentation of Molasses."—IV. Griffith Prize.*]

I. Availability of Beds in Medical Colleges and Standard of Instruction

Dr. K. S. Ray, a member of the Executive Committee of the Indian Medical Council, drew the attention of the University to the conversion of 75% of the beds in the two Medical Colleges for emergency purposes and enquired how far it affected "the standard and teaching of the medical students going up for the M.B. degree of the University." The latter made enquiries of the Surgeon-General, the Principal, Calcutta Medical College and the Principal, Carmichael Medical College. The figures supplied by them show that in the Medical College 330 beds, formerly used for teaching purposes, have been taken over by the Government for A.R.P. work and 500 are now available for instruction of students and in the Carmichael Medical College out of 531 beds generally utilised for teaching 250 have been taken over for A.R.P. work and the remaining beds are available for teaching purposes. These facts have been supplied to Dr. K. S. Ray.

* * *

II. Affiliation of the St. Edmund's College, Shillong

The Governor is pleased to order that the above College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Elements of Civics and Economics and Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard and in Assamese (Vernacular), Bengali (Vernacular) and Khasi (Vernacular) to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards, with permission to present candidates at the examinations in those subjects from 1944 and not earlier.

* * *

III. Research on "Fermentation of Molasses"

The scheme of research on "Fermentation of Molasses" of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research (Government of India),

which has been pursued in the Laboratory of Professor B. C. Guha, has been extended.

* * *

IV. Griffith Prize

Griffith Prize in Science for the year 1940 has been divided between Mr. Anantakumar Sengupta and Mr. Sachchidananda Banerji. The thesis of the first gentelman was Spectra of the Oxides of Group IV-B and that of the latter was "Some aspects of Ascorbic Acid with special reference to the Assessment of Ascorbic Acid Nutrition." We congratulate the recipients of the prize.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1942

WAR OF 1914-18 AND THE APPEARANCE OF DISCONTENT—IV

H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

(VI) DISAFFECTION OF POLITICAL INDIA

ELSEWHERE the reader has been supplied with the views of the writer with regard to the reasons which made the middle classes so loyal to Government at the beginning of the War and, in that connection, a distinction was drawn between those whose ambition in life was to secure the patronage of Government and others who placed the good of their country before considerations of personal aggrandisement. We have already dealt with the reasons which estranged the former class of men and shall now try to ascertain the causes which made the British administration unpopular with the politically-minded sections of the intelligentsia. In addition to the galling sense of being held in distrust by the administration, from practically the outset of the War, educated politically-minded Indians were provoked by internments and the operation of the Press Act which touched them directly for all those who were detained without trial came from their own ranks. Indian journalists also were all drawn from among them.

Political India resented these measures because it felt that an administration which it regarded as a high-handed one while utilising

India's man and material power was so utterly convinced of its ability to rule India by force that it was prepared to defy public opinion—a state of things which it could not possibly allow to pass unchallenged.

It was at a later stage that the grievances of the masses stirred them still more deeply and their championship of their poorer brethren by bringing down the displeasure of the British administration on their heads subjected them to various kinds of persecution. This had the effect of taking them closer to the masses and of winning them their leadership. It was at a still later stage that this leadership took them to jail in their hundreds where they were followed in their thousands by the masses.

The attitude of the typical official towards the educated classes is evident from the opinion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the proposed Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which appears on pages 228-66 of the Government of India's First Despatch, dated March 5, 1919, from which the following extracts are taken.

Referring to the middle class educated politician, Sir Michael said that his "influence for good is generally nil, but he can and sometimes does add to this trouble by injudicious and malicious interference." Though skilful in the dialectics of constitutional discussion, middle class politicians "lack practical experience" for which they can hardly be held responsible. Objecting to the special precedence enjoyed by Additional Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, he said, "At present, it not seldom happens that at functions held at the head-quarters of Divisions, the man who ranks highest is not the Commissioner or the local Brigadier, but some obscure pleader who has been elected to the Legislative Council."

Let it not be imagined that the attitude complained of was confined to the Punjab only, to its Lieutenant-Governor of those days, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or that it disappeared after the last War. That it still persists and is noticed by Indians is clear from an incident narrated by Captain F. Percy Roe on page 157 of his "How is the Empire?" published as late as 1936.

Here we are told that a prominent Indian in the service of one of the great Indian Princes who rode down from a hill station to the plains with a young Englishman said:

"Why do you not accept us? No one understands the greatness of your Empire more clearly than educated Indians. No one realises the futility of risking a disruption of the Empire better than we do. But we want to share in its government. We have helped you defend it and

will do so again, but until you give us real opportunities we shall feel that you are not willing to trust us."

It was this chronic distrust, this lack of imagination and of statesmanship which proved itself incapable of picking out the right kind of nationalists and of utilising their services for strengthening the war effort which estranged Political India. Government did not adopt this policy probably because it felt that the presence of nationalists in its administrative machinery might mean taking their advice from time to time—a thing which went against its grain for, if it lacked other things, it never lacked confidence in itself. Utterly oblivious to the new forces which had appeared, it thought that it could go on in the old way and in doing so made itself responsible for two very unpopular things which will be referred to immediately.

INTERNMENT OF SUSPECTS

Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the two Muslim leaders, had been interned from 1915 and they were not given their freedom till the end of December, 1919, after the passing of the Montagu-Chelmsford Act. These were men with an All-India reputation. But there were thousands of others, Hindu and Mussalman, less well-known, who suffered detention without trial in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Maharashtra, Gujerat, Madras and Bengal and who had been deprived of their liberty on suspicion. It was repeatedly stated in the public press that they were not receiving decent treatment. Unable to bear various kinds of sufferings, some of them committed suicide, others became insane.

In Bengal specially, suspects were interned wholesale till the number ran into thousands. These disappeared from their homes, some being condemned to solitary confinement. The public was stirred to its depths when stories of torture and of men becoming insane and committing suicide under imprisonment without any charge being brought against them and without trial, became current and were confirmed by such facts as saw the light of day.

A case which attracted great attention and caused deep indignation was that of a young professor who became mad (he was never charged or tried) and was removed to a lunatic asylum. In reply to his mother's frantic appeal for his release on the ground that his powers for mischief if any had disappeared with loss of sanity, the Bengal Government, it was said under instructions from the Government of India, replied that she would be permitted to reside in the lunatic

asylum provided she was prepared to submit to the ordinary rules and regulations of the institution where her son was confined.

Still another case was the notorious one (known as that of the two Sindhubalas) where two Bengali ladies belonging to respectable families, who bore the same name, the husband of one of whom was a suspect (and who ultimately was found to be quite innocent) and one of whom was in a very delicate condition were arrested in order to make certain that the guilty one did not escape. These were made to walk several miles under the hot sun, then carried a long distance by bullock cart over very rough country roads and finally confined for a considerable period in a common jail occupied by convicted criminals. Later on, it was admitted that their arrest was a mistake, the effect of culpable carelessness, and that their undeserved miseries and agony had been prolonged by a series of blunders in red-tape routine.

The last touch of horror was added when two High Court Judges who had been deputed to report on internments in Bengal stated that " while torture to extort evidence was to be deprecated, it was not desirable to ignore evidence so obtained in the case of revolutionary crime for the internment of suspects."

Rai Bahadur Baikuntha Nath Sen, one of the most prominent lawyers of Bengal in those days, a man who always measured his words carefully and who was then in his 77th year in the speech he delivered as the Chairman of the Reception Commitee of the Calcutta Congress held in December, 1917, said :

> " The internments are a standing grievance with us. The incarceration of so many citizens and promising youths without trial must be matter of great concern in all countries; in India it is almost criminal. It saps the very foundations of the Empire by destroying that public faith in British justice which is the strongest bulwark of British rule in India."

Political India felt great discontent that after the many and substantial proofs India had given of her co-operation with Britain in the defence of the Empire, the Government of India refused to listen to repeated requests either to bring the detenus to trial or to take some steps which would prove to the satisfaction of the public that the people suffering detention were indeed a menace to the maintenance of law and order. The indifference to public opinion exhibited by Government hurt India's pride and made Indians resentful. This resentment

expressed itself in different ways one of which was the sympathy many showed with and the part others took in the Non-Co-operation Movement.

THE PRESS ACT

The Press Act of 1910 was passed in extreme haste under the plea that terrorism was being encouraged by a certain section of the Indian press. Sir C. Y. Chintamani has told us that the provisions as originally drafted were much more drastic than those actually incorporated in the Act itself and that this was due to the refusal of Sir S. P. Sinha, then Law Member, to have anything to do with it in its original form.

The Act takes it for granted that every one who wants to do business as the printer or the publisher of a newspaper is a prospective criminal and his good behaviour must be guaranteed by a deposit. Where for any reason any printer or publisher is exempted from depositing security, it should not be forgotten that there is a fundamental difference between a right and a favour and that a rule such as this cannot but be a constant source of irritation to many sensitive men.

The Press Act had been used time and again by the executive to stifle legitimate criticism. The case of the *Comrade* immediately suggests itself to the Bengali. This was what may be called a " spicy " weekly edited by Mahomed Ali. Soon after the outbreak of the War, when British Government declared its War aims to be the protection of the weaker nations, Mahomed Ali published an article entitled " Evacuate Egypt " in which he challenged the British Government to prove its *bona fides* by the application to Egypt of the principles for which it professed to fight.

In the judgment delivered by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, in the suit brought against those responsible for the *Comrade*, he said that there is practically no remedy against any executive action taken under the provisions of the Press Act and that almost any piece of writing may be brought under its operation.

It was argued then, as it was argued again in 1930, 1932, and 1935, when the Press Act was revived in other forms, that no honest journalist need fear the Press Act and it was pointed out in that connection that the criticisms in which the nationalist press indulged were not always punished under its provisions. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, a

Moderate of Moderates, has met this argument on page 68 of his book "Indian Politics Since the Mutiny" in the following way :

> "The apologists are drawn from the class of publicists who find themselves in convenient agreement with the Government on nearly every occasion; on all occasions in fact except when the Government do something agreeable to Indian reformers."

Continuing he observed :

> "If we continue to criticise the policies and measures of Government and are yet free, it is by sufference and not as a matter of legal right. The Government have filled their armoury with weapons with which they can strike us any time they may choose. We may admire their moderation in not taking them out more frequently than they have done, but the weapons are there and a publicist who forgets their existence does so at his peril."

There is also the other fact that it tempts honest editors to adopt cunning subterfuges to avoid the provisions of the Press Act which cannot but be degrading.

Early in 1916, the operation of this Act under executive authority was so keenly resented by journalists that, with the help of public men, a number of very largely attended meetings were arranged in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other important cities in which resolutions demanding its repeal were passed. This campaign was reinforced by another conducted by almost every responsible Indian journal. Government, however, could not be persuaded to budge from the position it had taken. The result was the alienation of Indian journalists.

When the time came, they were led to sympathise with the agitation for Home Rule and later on with the Non-Co-operation Movement which aimed at the transfer of power to Indian hands. And this sympathy was manifested by the prominence given to items bearing on them as well as in the general tenor of the editorial comments. As a matter of fact, it is no exaggeration to suggest that a large measure of success of the Non-Co-operation Movement was due to the publicity it secured from the Indian press.

Western Education and Nationalism

The Western education imbibed by the politically-minded section of the middle class intelligentsia had taught them how very important the part nationalism had played in Europe in redeeming modern nations from alien oppression and in giving shape to their political evolution. They remembered how it had emancipated the Balkan States from the alien thraldom of the Ottoman Empire, how it had unified Italy and Germany, turning the latter from a number of small and divided states into the most formidable among the Continental powers. Finally, the same factor had been responsible for welding Great Britain and the Colonies inhabited by people of the British race into the great British Empire.

These people could not forget that in spite of all racial and linguistic differences, India too could boast of a common nationhood, traceable across centuries of internal strife and alien domination to a period, remote indeed in time, when Indians had been masters of their own destinies. One of the greatest hindrances to the new acquirement of a common nationhood, the multiplicity of languages, had been removed by the spread of English education. If its use was confined to the educated classes only, there was ready to their hand a *lingua franca* for the whole of India in the form of Hindusthani or some variety of it, which needed only popularisation and some development and which the middle classes felt they could take care of.

That the desire that Indians should be masters in their own country was and is legitimate is admitted by even such an official as Sir Reginald Craddock in his "Dilemma in India." In this book he has drawn upon his vast experience as a member of the Indian Civil Service, as the Lieutenant-Governor of two provinces and as a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, in order to point out all those impediments which, in his opinion, make the transfer of political power to India difficult, if not impossible. On page 307 of his book he has said :

> "If I were an Indian I should probably ask, as some of them do, why having brains and capacity and learning should we require the support of foreign control?"

The education these people received had made it clear to them that though they were a minority, still even revolutions have generally been the work of not only minorities but of very small minorities and that

the situation in India, in spite of whatever might be said to the contrary, was not after all so very hopeless. For it was a fact that in England itself, the Revolution was brought about by the Whigs and though they became a powerful and numerous body later on, at the time of the Revolution itself they had constituted a small fraction of the British electorate which again, at the time, consisted of a small fraction of the British population. Similarly, the revolutionary party in America, in 1776, was most certainly not composed of a majority of the colonists. Again in France, the Jacobins when they engineered the French Revolution were a small and, everything said and done, a rather insignificant clique. Garibaldi and his followers who did so much for their motherland were equally weak in numbers.

All these parties came into power, drew increasing numbers of their countrymen into their ranks and were in a position to give effect to the policies for which they stood, only because they had the support of the country behind them and that was because they gave their leadership in all sincerity and unselfishness and with the one aim of benefiting their countrymen at large. Their commonsense taught them that, without the support of the whole country, they would never succeed in winning that political power which only would enable them to better the economic condition of all their countrymen including their own and enable them to acquire those fundamental rights which are enjoyed by all free people.

At the beginning, even the middle class extremist politicians had thought it their duty to offer their co-operation to Government. As the War went on and ugly stories with regard to the ways in which man power was being mobilised and funds for War Loans and War charities collected, began to circulate, middle class politicians who, rightly or wrongly, regarded themselves as the defenders of Indian rights and the champions of the masses entered their protests. But in doing so, they had to be careful, for the Defence of India Act was there and the administration did not show much hesitation in utilising its provisions for stifling what, from their point of view, was legitimate criticism. The imposition of new taxes and substantial increases in existing ones, many of which, as shown elsewhere, pressed with undue severity on the poor, provoked them still further.

The treatment of Indians in the Colonies and Self-Governing Dominions was another sore point, for the very simple reason that though citizens of the Empire and natives of a country which was called upon to share the burden of its defence, they were discriminated against even

during the War. The following quotation from " India in 1924-25 " written under the authority of the Government of India for submission to the Parliament will show that the gravity of the situation was recognised even by British officials :

" It will be plain from this summary that the treatment accorded to Indian nationals in other parts of the British Empire is at present a very living issue in the eyes of educated Indian opinion. It is a matter upon which Indian intellectuals, without regard to political divisions or party aims, stand united. Anything which is regarded as an aspersion upon India's dignity is bitterly resented and exercises a marked influence upon the course of domestic politics. The future as well as the immediate implications of the whole question are formidable. The course of relations not merely between India and the rest of the Empire, but between Asia and Europe, may well depend upon the ability of British statesmanship to convince the educated classes of India that there is room for them within the Commonwealth to rise to the full height of their aspirations, and to attain the privileges and the responsibilities which the self-governing Dominions enjoy."

There were other causes, too, which materially strengthened the antagonism of Political India to the British administration and to one of which only some reference will be made now. It was urged that India had no right to expect full responsible government, as the masses are ignorant and, therefore, unfit to exercise their franchise properly. In reply, Political India had to point out that when Gokhale had attempted to remove this ignorance by universal elementary education, his proposal had been rejected by the official majority.

The middle classes held that improvement in their position might be looked for only when India became the mistress of her own house, that if this depended on the diffusion of literacy, the responsibility for its absence did not lie at her doors and that this objectionable situation which was the plea urged for the denial of what they chose to consider their legitimate rights, would persist unless it could be changed somehow. They held that if they acquired political power, one of the first things to which they would devote their attention would be the removal of illiteracy which India actually attempted to do as soon as Congress came into power in 1937.

Mass Leadership from the Classes

While the service-hunting section of this class lost its sympathy for the British administration mainly because of selfish considerations,

a majority among them did not show their displeasure by overt acts. It has been suggested by some uncharitable people that this attitude was due to downright cowardice in some cases and to the desire to make capital out of any contingency which might arise hereafter if the bolder or the more reckless section among them took active steps to show their disapproval of the attitude of Government. It is, however, a fact that some among them, utterly hopeless of further favours from Government, gradually drifted to the ranks of the politicians. These latter drawing their inspiration from the example set by Mahatma Gandhi identified themselves more and more closely with the masses and supplied that unselfish leadership which they had lacked so long.

Mr. Trevor Pinch, at one time editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, in the sixth chapter of his book "Stark India" has told us about the experience he had at a Moharram procession in a town in Central India. Referring to a young Mussalman, the son of a very rich man and an Honours man of a world-famous English University, who, barefooted and clad in dirty pyjama-trousers only, had joined a band of the extreme type of what are known as the "Breast-Beaters," Mr. Pinch tells us how his friend was flagellating himself with a stout whip, to the lashes of which, in his language, had been attached "small curved knives of deadly appearance." The description given of the way in which his back and left side had been lacerated with blood trickling down and flies settling on them between the strokes, is too gruesome to bear quotation.

But the lesson drawn from the incident is worth remembering as it has a bearing on the matter with which we are concerned. Mr. Pinch says :

> "Martyrs in a common cause need not be polished, distinguished or well-dressed. They require only to be strong and determined and, above everything, men. So, for the sake of his religion, he has come down to the level of any of Islam's two hundred millions."

This incident has been mentioned only to prove that in the days of both the Non-Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience Movements, the leaders belonging to the classes identified themselves as closely and as intimately with the masses as this particular young man on the day of Moharram. And this they did, not for one day only but before, during and after these mass upheavals. This explains their hold on the ordinary people who followed them in their thousands even when doing

so meant physical sufferings, imprisonment and loss of their slender belongings as in the no-tax campaign.

That eminent member of the Indian Civil Service who before his retirement had been the head of two provinces in British India was correct when he laid down the proposition that " The intelligentsia of a country should be the voice expressing the thoughts of the people, which they can understand, even though they might not so well express themselves."

There had been a time when this could not with justice be said to be true of India's intelligentsia but no one who knows anything about India will deny that matters have stood on a different footing from the time of the last War and specially from the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

Discontent and Direct Action

Whatever might be urged by die-hard officialdom and conservatism against Mr. E. S. Montagu, to him the credit must go that, though a stranger to the inner life of India, he had sufficient acumen to sense the true state of affairs long before there had appeared any outward manifestation of the discontent rampant throughout our motherland and practically throughout all classes. This is proved by what he said in his forceful manner during his visit to India. His words were, " I wish I could get the damned bureaucracy to realise that we are sitting on a volcano."

India still hoped that her reward would come when victory had been achieved but she was disappointed. Even the Moderates who were co-operating with Government and among whom Mahatma Gandhi could still be counted, found it impossible to give their unqualified approval to the reforms which were proposed under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, of which the best description is that by Lord Birkenhead, who confessed, " I myself was always very distrustful of the dyarchical principle. It seemed to me to savour of a kind of pedantic and hide-bound constitution, to which Anglo-Saxon communities have not generally responded, and which in my anticipation was unlikely to make a successful appeal to a community whose political ideals were, thanks in the main to Macaulay, so largely derived from Anglo-Saxon models." Rightly or wrongly, it was felt that such a system was due to distrust which Indians resented very deeply after the loyal way in which they had co-operated with the British Government during its hour of travail.

The discontent which had gradually permeated practically the whole of India was increased still further by the passing of the Rowlatt Act, by the far from tactful and wise handling of the Punjab disorders and by the apparent indifference of the British Government to Mussalman sentiments with regard to the Khilafat question.

Constitutional agitation, carried on for more than three decades, had proved unsuccessful. Non-Co-operation, so successful in South Africa, had achieved unlooked for results and, in desperation, National India instinctively turned to it as the last resource, the more so because the same leader who had forged this new weapon was in our motherland ready to wield it for the achievement of a purpose in which nearly every Indian felt vitally interested.

DANIEL'S DREAM IN THE VEDAS

DR. R. SHAMASASTRY

ANCIENT languages are as unintelligible as ancient scripts and are passed over as mere curiosities or used merely as charms till they are explained by someone to whom the meaning reveals itself like a precious stone to an explorer in a desert. This has been the case with Daniel's Dream-riddle in the 8th chapter of "Daniel" in the Bible till De Cheseaux pointed out its astronomical significance, as briefly explained by Chambers in his *Handbook of Astronomy* (Vol. II, pp. 464-67). Since the arithmetical riddle described in R. V. 1. 164 is quite similar or rather identical with the Biblical riddle, it is proposed to lay it bare here for its evaluation by experts. The Biblical story of Daniel's Dream is as follows:

Daniel saw in his dream a ram with two horns pushing westward, northward, and southward. No beasts could stand before him. Then a he-goat with a horn between his eyes appeared there. The goat smote the ram and trampled upon him with his feet. The goat's horn was broken and there came in its place four notable horns towards the four winds of heaven. Out of one of these horns came forth a little horn which waxed exceedingly great even to the host of heaven. It cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground. It took away the continued burnt offerings from the prince of the heavenly host. Then a holy one appearing there asked another holy one how long the transgression of the horn taking away the burnt offerings would continue. The other replied that it would go on till 2300 evenings and mornings. Then Gabriel came and told Daniel that the two horns of the ram were the kings of Media and Persia. The goat's horn is the king of Greece. The four horns are the four kingdoms arising from one nation. The last horn is a mighty king who will vanish at the close of 2300 evenings and mornings.

How De Cheseaux explained the dream to mean the self-adjustment of the eclipse-cycle of 19 years in the course of 2300 years, is not stated in Chambers's *Handbook of Astronomy*. Yet it may be guessed at without any fear of contradiction. The ram and the goat in the story stand for the sun and the moon, as they do in the Vedas. The two horns of the ram and the five horns of the goat, seven in all, represent

the seven intercalary months occurring in the course of a cycle of 19 luni-solar years. The little horn that waxed as far as heaven and scattered the planets and stars is the excess of time over and above seven intercalary months forming the difference between 19 solar and 19 lunar years. The word "Sringa," horn, seems to mean an intercalary month in the Vedas also. We frequently meet with expressions like "a bull of four horns, a bull of 1000 horns" in the Vedas. Since it is stated in the story to vanish in 2300 years or 121 cycles of 19 years each, the excess over and above 7 intercalary months in each cycle may be taken to amount to nearly 11 days in 121 cycles and disappear, making the 2300th lunar year equal to the 2300th solar year. It follows, therefore, that if the excess of the difference over and above 7 intercalary months between 19 lunar and 19 solar years amounts to about 11 days in 2299 years or 121 cycles of 19 years each, it must necessarily be $\frac{11 \times 24}{121} = 2$ hrs. and 10 mins. in one cycle. Chambers put it down at 2 hrs. 4 mins. and 4 secs. per cycle as the approximate excess over and above 7 intercalary months in each cycle. This is what he has stated in his *Handbook of Astronomy*, Vol. II, pp. 464-67.

Before Meton earned the Athenian honours by discovering the celebrated 19 years cycle which bears his name, the prophet Daniel had embodied in his revealed chronology the grand cycle naturally adapted to correct the error of the Metonic cycle. The use of the 19 year cycle or "golden number" is indispensable in a calendar adjusted to the months and years of nature. The slight error of that cycle (2h. 4m. 4s.) accumulates to nearly an entire day (22h. 44m.) in eleven cycles or 209 years, and to nearly 11 days (10d. 10h.) in 11 × 209 cycles or 2299 years, which error is balanced by 11 days' epact in the 2300th year. The epact of any single year is 11 days, and the 11 days' excess of the lunar months above 2299 solar years in 121 Metonic cycles becomes the epact of the 2300th year. The 2300 year cycle, which is 33 times more exact than the Metonic and is the primary cycle adapted to its correction, is thus the natural secular basis for a calendar correctly adjusted to solar and lunar revolutions. That the accumulated epacts of 2300 years, or the difference between 2300 lunar years and the same number of solar years, make up exactly 70 lunar years and 7 months, a measure harmonious with the 7 months epact in the Metonic cycle and with the prevailing septiform character of the prophetic times. The rate of epact is remarkable as being *one month in 1000 days* (992d.), 12 months or a *lunar year in 12,000 days* (the 33 years' Messianic cycle) and 70 times this in 2,300 years.

The same grand cycle of 2300 years, in which the slight error of 2 hrs. and 4 mins. in each cycle of 19 years accumulates to 11 days (10d. 10hrs.) and vanishes by making the 2300th lunar year equal to the 2300th solar year, is clearly described in Vedic terms in R. V. 1. 164, 1-16. Before proceeding to explain the hymn and its bearing on the grand cycle of eclipses, it is, however, necessary that we should understand the usual technical terms, with which eclipses and eclipse-cycles are described in the Vedas. In the Vedas eclipses are called cows and calves and intercalary months are called after the names of deities that are believed to preside over, and reside in, them. The Atharvaveda says that the thirteenth month is the home of Indra. The Rigveda says that Dhātar sets the sun and moon together at the same place at the close of an intercalary year (Adhisamvatsara) as before. As Venkatamadhava, an authoritative commentator on the Rigveda, says in R. V. 1. 6, 1 that the two halves of the lunar month are the sun's chariot, we may interpret the seven horses of the sun's chariot as the seven intercalary months of the cycle of 19 years which is called in the Rigveda a chariot of seven Chakras or cycles. As explained in details in my "Drapsa," and "Eclipse-cult," the Vedic poets counted the eclipse year at 343 days, with one node at the beginning and another at the middle of the year. They formed an eclipse cycle of 1000 days with an intercalary month from three eclipse years ($343 \times 3 = 1028$) with not less than three visible eclipses and not more than 10-12 eclipses at the most. Purusha is the name given to seven cycles of 1000 days each. The three characteristic eclipses of the cycle of 1000 days are called "Patara," "Viklidha," and "Pinga" in the case of lunar eclipses, and "white lamb," "black lamb," and "red lamb" in the case of solar eclipses. The lords of intercalary months are called Putras, sons, and the seven sons are known as "Dhātar, Aryama, Mitra, Varuna, Amśa, Bhaga, and Indra." The 8th son is called Mārtanda who is said to have been set aside, as he was half-born or still-born.

I give here the translation of the first twenty verses of the hymn and explain in my notes below how the arithmetical problem bearing on the self-adjustment of the eclipse-cycle of 19 years in 2300 years is the main theme of the poet in this grand Vedic hymn :

"Of this grey-haired handsome Hotar, the middle brother is Aśna, the all-devourer Agni; the third brother is he whose back is as yellow as solid Ghi (clarified butter). Here I behold the lord's seven sons. 1

Seven yoke the one-wheeled chariot; a single horse draws it bearing seven names; the wheel has three naves, sound and undecaying; and in it rest all these worlds. 2

Seven are seated on this seven-wheeled car which is drawn by seven horses; seven sisters are also assembled there; the seven cows bearing seven names are also there. 3

Who has seen the birth of this (eclipse or seven sons) for the first time? how does the boneless support the bony creation? where are the blood, life, and spirit of the earth? who approached the learned to enquire about all this? 4

Immature in age and with mind eager to learn, I ask about the places where the gods (seven) are seated, and also about the system of seven lunar sacrifices which sages have been weaving like a web with seven threads stretched out on the one-year calf (eclipse). 5

Not knowing, but eager to know, I ask the learned as to who supports the six dusty worlds and who has put some pigment in the unborn one to vary his forms. 6

Let the knower declare where the station of the bird-like one is situated? the cows pour their milk over their (or his) head and concealing their or his form reach water with their feet. 7

The mother joined the father in Ṛta (winter-solstice), who thought of her presence in mind. The coy maiden became big with embryo; the sages addressed prayers to her. 8

The mother came in contact with the father in Dakshiṇāyana; the embryo developed in the regions; the calf lowed after the mother and saw her in her varied farms in three Yojanas. 9

Having three mothers and three fathers, one appeared high up above all; none can miss him; the gods behind him in the sky speak of him in a comprehensive tongue unknown to the world. 10

The twelve-spoked undecaying wheel rolls on round the sky of Ṛta (winter-solstice); on it are seated, O Agni, seven hundred and twenty sons, counted in terms of twins only (exclusive of the single-born). 11

The five-footed father with twelve limbs has, they say, some remainder in upper half of the sky; others say that that remainder is kept up in the year (upare) in the seven-wheeled car above the six spokes. 12

In the ever-revolving five-spoked wheel there is established the whole world; its axle, though heavily laden, never gets heated; nor is its have ever broken. 13

The wheel rolls on with its felly unworn; on its upper rim the ten (days called ten sisters) bear it; the sun rises with his eye covered with the veil of Rajas or dust; and on it the whole world stands. 14

Of the seven born together, the seventh, they say, is born single; six alone are born as twins (three twins); they are all Rishis, and divine in nature; offerings to please them are made at their respective stations; they shine in varied forms unto their lord. 15

Though they are females, they say to me that they are males; he who has eyes can see this; but not he who is blind; that son who is learned knows this; he who knows this is father's father. 16

The cow holding her earlier calf with her front leg and her later calf with her hind leg has risen up; to what place is she bound? where has she calved? Certainly, not amidst the herd. 17

Let the all-knowing one who knows the father of the earlier calf held by front leg and of the later calf held by the hind leg declare the form of that divine father and also why this bend of mind there came to him. 18

They call the earlier ones later and the later ones earlier here; those whom you, O Soma, and also Indra have brought about bear themselves on like steeds yoked to a car. 19

Two companion winged angels have taken their shelter in same tree; one of them eats the sweet fruit of the Pippala tree, while the other shines well without eating anything." 20

In the prefatory notes to the translation of the hymn I have pointed out on the authority of Venkatamadhava that the word " Asva " in the Vedas means a lunar month. As explained in my " Drapsa " and " Eclipse-cult in the Vedas " in detail, the seven sons of Aditi are the lords of seven intercalary months. Since we are told in verse 3 that that chariot of the sun which is seven-wheeled is drawn by seven horses and mounted over by the seven sons, it follows that the chariot must necessarily be the period of 19 luni-solar years in which seven intercalary months occur, forming seven horses for the sun and seven residential quarters for the seven sons of Aditi. It also follows that Saptachakra means seven cycles of 19/7 years each, with one intercalary month. In verse 15 we are told that, of the seven sons, six are born as twins and the seventh born single. In verse 11 it is clearly stated that counting only the twin sons, the total number of sons amounted to 720. It follows, therefore, that if six sons are born in one cycle of 19 years, 720 sons will take 720/6 or 120 cycles to be born. The remainder of 2hrs. and 4mins. in each cycle of 19 years will come

to 31/15hrs. × 120=248hrs. or ten days and 8 hrs. If we add one cycle more to 120 and make it 121, as has been done by Chambers, the remainder will come to 10 days and ten hours, as stated by the same authority. Is it not then so clear as to be understood even by a boy lisping in numbers that the Vedic cyclic problem of eclipses is entirely identical with the Biblical one? The resulting ten days are also referred to in verse 14 as "the ten bearing," meaning "ten sisters bringing forward the eclipse fire."

As to the question why the Poets preferred obscure terms to intelligible expressions, the answer is that "Parokshapriya iva hi devah," "gods love mysticism as it were." It may also be a kind of trade or professional secret.

In verses 8-10 of the usual three cyclic eclipses, the third eclipse known as Rohita or Pinga having three parents is counted as the most important. The five-footed father in verse 12 and the five-spoked wheel in verse 13 are the last five cycles of the 12 cycles in 33 years. The seven-wheeled car in verse 12 is 19 years in which the remainder is kept up. The veil of Rajas in verse 14 is eclipse-shadow. The days developed of the remainder are regarded as females, probably following the belief that a female child takes more time to develop than a male child.

Although the order of the three cyclic eclipses, Patara, Viklidha, and Pinga, is fixed, yet sometimes the order is changed. This change of order is referred to in verses 17-19.

The Pippala tree described in verse 20 is the same as the Asvattha tree described in the Bhagavadgita. It represents the celestial sphere in which the sun and the moon are said to have their abode. The statement that one of the two winged ones eats and the other watches it without eating reminds us of the Biblical story of Adam and Eve. The philological affinity of the word Bible to Pippala implies some historical connection between the Biblical and the Vedic people.

PROBLEM OF FISH IN BENGAL

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THE waters of the world, both fresh and salt, furnish a supply of fish for human consumption. Next to agriculture, fishery provides man with the largest quantity of food. In Europe and in many other countries the fresh water fish is not as important an item of food as is the salt-water fish. But in India, and specially in Bengal, fresh-water fish gets a preferred position over marine fish, due perhaps to our natural taste, as indeed to its easy availability, since we have more inland water courses and shallow lake areas than elsewhere. Marine fishery is not popular in Bengal, because of its dangers and the difficulties of transportation of the catch to the markets.

My object is to describe the scope and method of fresh-water fishery in Bengal. I shall do so in as few words as possible. Yet the subject is not only interesting, but of great importance in the economy of our second staple food.

Now, the fishing industry, or fishery, may be divided into 3 main categories, namely,

1. Fresh-water fishery,
2. Estuarian fishery, and
3. Marine fishery.

The main problem of the first kind is breeding and rearing. The second has only rearing in view, and the third has neither of the two. There are controlled marine fisheries, such as in America, where artificial fertilisation, (fecundation) and supply of food are provided, but we have neither much need, nor the resources, to adopt such means. In regard to estuarian fishery in this country, the following methods are adopted. Embankments are raised around a big plot of land in the low-lying tracts of the country side, and within easy reach of salt water, near the mouth of a river. Water is admitted into the enclosure through a canal, at the entrance of which is placed a box-like valve, fitted with a screen of wire-netting. During high tide water rushes into the enclosure and with the current some shoals of fishes, such as,

Bhetki ভেট্‌কি (*Lates calcarifer*), Bhangan ভাঙ্গন (*Mugil tade*), Khoira খয়রা (*Gadusia chapra*), etc. The ingress is unobstructed, since the valve remains open. When low tide begins, the valve is closed, and no fish can go out. Thus a large number of these fishes, with their young ones, is imprisoned in the enclosure. This operation continues from April to August. From August to December is the time for catching the fish, including the young ones. For three months the enclosure remains dry, and the process is repeated next year. The enclosure is locally known as a *Bheri* (ভেড়ী).

Fresh-water fishery is still in a crude state in India, and, of course, in Bengal. The life-history of almost all fresh-water fish is unknown. There is practically no record of the period of maturity, longevity, attainment of the maximum length and weight, regarding almost all such fish in India. Attention has recently been drawn to these problems. The more important fishes, as food in Bengal, are the carps, such as Rohu রুই (*Labeo rohita*), Catla কাতলা (*Catla catla*), Mrigal মৃগেল (*Cirrhina mrigala*) and Calbaus কালবোস (*Labeo calbasu*), but they generally do not breed in tank. The birth-place of these carps is mostly in the upper reaches of a river towards its source, where the water is shallow. There the mature males and females go for spawning. After a heavy shower, the females lay their mature eggs, on which the males spread their sperm in order to fertilise them. Of course all the eggs cannot be fertilised, due to drifting, and there is a lot of wastage. Those that are fertilised sink in the water and grow to small embryos. After a while hatching takes place, that is, the fry liberate themselves from the egg-cases, and float on the surface of the water current. Fishermen collect them in fine mesh, or cloth, nets, and sell them as the so-called 'eggs' of carps. Interested people then buy these so-called eggs and place them in tanks to grow into big fishes. I shall explain presently how the eggs are collected and hatched.

I have already referred to the fact that Indian carps usually do not spawn in stagnant pools or fresh-water ponds, but there are some places in Bengal, where, in ponds of a special type, carp-breeding is carried on in an extensive scale. Such ponds are to be found in the districts of Midnapur, Birbhum and Bankura. They are locally known as *Bundhs* (বাঁধ).

A *bundh* is a low-lying pond, usually on a sloping ground, in an undulating country-side, surrounded usually by rice fields. Earthen embankments are raised on the lowest side, and on the flanks, to make

a reservoir for water. The side sloping down from the upland is kept open for the free flow of water into the reservoir.

In the opposite side, where the embankment is high but the level of the ground is low, there is an outlet, to permit the escape of excess water. This outlet, which is locally known as the *bulan* (বুলান), is screened off with split bamboo which prevents the escape of the fish. When required, it is entirely closed with the addition of earth.

In the dry season the *bundh* still retains some water in its lowest area, thus affording a home for the maturing fish.

In the rainy season, the rain water from the upland area is drained into the low-lying *bundh* through little streamlets, locally known as *dhals* (ঢল). After a heavy shower the whole *bundh* becomes a sheet of water and, at times, may overflow. The water coming through the *dhals* practically replaces the old water of the *bundh*.

Mature male and female fish of various species, kept in the *bundh* area for breeding purposes, spread out as if with new life, when the rain water swells the *bundh* to its full capacity. The rain water evidently acts as a stimulus for mating. It is rather difficult for those who have not observed the phenomenon on the spot, to realise the sporting vigour and disport of the fish on a spawning occasion. It is a fact that although countless ponds and tanks containing these fishes exist in Bengal, and in many parts of India, Indian carps as a rule do not breed in them. This is not due to the want of mature fishes in such tanks—indeed their number is great—but it is entirely due to the lack of abundance of fresh rain water and the draining off of old water, at least a great volume of it. Rain water is the purest form of natural water. Its stimulating effect on spawning fishes may or may not be due to its chemical properties, but it is quite reasonable to assume that its touch does exercise such stimulation. The replacement of the old pond water by fresh rain water is indeed a stimulus for spawning, while a mixture of the two kinds of water, as in ponds and tanks, is observed to stimulate the Shol শোল (*Ophicephalus striatus*) and Shal শাল (*Ophicephalus marulius*) species. The breeding of bigger Indian carps requires an abundance of fresh rain water. We should note here, however, that unless fresh rain water is added to old pond water, no fresh-water big fish, not even *Shal* (*Ophicephalus marulius*), or *Shol* (*Ophicephalus striatus*) can breed with ease.

I may observe in passing that we have recently been successful in inducing spawning of Koi কৈ (*Anabas testudineus*) by almost

replacing the old water of a small aquarium by freshly collected rain water.

The shallow water area of the *bundh* in its upper reaches, where the actual spawning takes place after the *bundh* is filled by rain water, is known as the *moan* (মোয়ান). After spawning, the spent-up fishes go back to the deep water area of the *bundhs*.

Now, there are three types of *bundhs* according to the situation of the breeding ground or *moan*, namely, (1) where the breeding ground is very close to the outlet, as we found in the *Ariamara bundh*, (2) where the breeding ground is far away from the outlet and close to the upland area, as in the *Sitarampur bundh*, and (3) where the breeding ground is spread over the whole area of the *bundh*, after the temporary accumulation of the rain water in it. The last type has no deep water area, whereas in other two types there is such an area which contains water throughout the year. To the third type of *bundh* mature fish of both sexes are generally transferred from the neighbouring ponds for spawning. Sex determination during spawning season is quite easy, as the females have an enlarged abdomen due to th accumulation of mature eggs. This third type of *bundhs* needs no outlet to get rid of old water—it was represented by the *Kurkuti bundh*.

I should not forget to mention that the actual spawning takes place in stagnant rain water and not in a current as people generally think. The local people of Midnapur fishery areas had no idea that the rain water was so important for breeding of big fresh-water fishes, until they were told. Their idea of the utility of rain water was confined merely to its capacity to fill the *bundhs*.

I should now refer to a little variation of the process. In the area of the Halda river, in the district of Chittagong, the local people have an erroneous idea that during the rainy season, when this river overflows towards the rice fields on the banks, the fry of various fishes migrate in these rice fields. We made careful observations and found that actually the mature fishes of both sexes migrate into the rice fields for mating, and there the spawning takes place. After hatching the fry generally go to the river, but a number of them dies, in the rice fields, when the water dries up in course of time.

I should now proceed to the collection and hatching of eggs. Before the collection of fertilised eggs is made, small pits, or *hapas* (হাপা), are dug in the ground adjoining the *bundh* and in these pits the eggs are placed for hatching. The dimensions of the pits are 4½ ft. in

length, 3 ft. in breadth and 1½ ft. in depth. They are usually 6 inches apart, and are arranged more or less in parallel rows. Between two rows of pits, there lies a shallow channel, so that when the water of the *bundh* is bailed out to the nearest portion of the channel, a regular supply even to the remotest pit can be maintained as the channel has small side-branches connecting each pit. Bailing of water is generally done by the aid of a narrow boat, one end of which can be lifted with a rope running over a pulley.

The collection of eggs from the *bundh* is of a mixed variety. In general appearance these eggs are like so many pearls with a mucus coating. The size of each egg is that of a pea-seed. Collection is made by means of a netting, of which mosquito curtains are made. Each net is stretched by two men holding the corners. The net is then dipped in the shallow water of the breeding ground, or the *moan*. The slimy eggs are then caught as the water passes out of the net as it is lifted. The size of these nets is 2½ yds. in length and 1 yd. in breadth. The borders are reinforced with tapes.

A tea-cupful of eggs is sufficient for each pit. The method that should be adopted for hatching in these pits is instructive and interesting. The eggs are not thrown into the water of the base pits. First a piece of cotton cloth is spread over the pit. It is then weighed down with a piece of stone. Over this submerged cloth is spread a piece of mosquito netting also submerged, but without touching the piece of cloth underneath. There is some space between the two fabrics. The corners of both pieces are tied to four bamboo poles stuck into the ground at the corners of the pits. The eggs are laid on the submerged mosquito netting. When the fry appears, it passes through the mesh of the net on to the cloth below. Neither piece of the fabrics touches the ground, and consequently, the fry do not die. Now one can remove the top net with the cast-off egg-capsules. This prevents the contamination of the water by the decomposing capsules. The lower sheet holding the fry is lifted up, as required, for the exhibition of the fry to the customer without injuring the fry in the least. The ordinary method of taking out the fry directly from the pit for display purposes causes much injury to the fry itself resulting in high percentage of death.

Now, it is obvious that in many villages in Bengal people can afford to have their carp culture areas by raising *bundhs* in low-lying fields around a pond or they can excavate a tank to a depth of about

three feet, the area of the overflow tank being about four times the perennial water area. The outlet should, of course, be provided. Indeed they can follow the idea of the *Kurkuti bundh*. In the two kinds of *bundhs* where water is imprisoned for the whole year, the mature fish will live in peace. In the shallow fresh-water *bundh*, they will be transferred from reserve tanks for spawning. The villagers can then buy the fry readily by paying a nominal price. We hope this will give some real help to the campaign for "Grow More Fish."

So far I have dwelt upon the subject of fish culture. Now I may take up the question of the rearing of fry. After the collection of fry from the *bundh* or from the river, they should be transferred to *dobas* (ডোবা), or small tanks, which should be free from all other kinds of fish, so that there would not be any likelihood of the fry being devoured by enemies.

Now, when the collection of fry from *bundh* or river is made, it is certain that with the fry of, say, carps, a good number of predacious fry will also come, as both breed together. Unless one can distinguish between the desirable and the undesirable fry in advance, the *dobas* or small tanks, in which the fry are reared, will surely contain a number of the predacious fry. The terrible extent of havoc they cause to the carp fry, was demonstrated in an experiment we made in our laboratory. In a small glass aquarium we kept a single Boal (বোয়াল) (*Wallago attu*) fry with one hundred fry of carps. Every 24 hours we made good the number of carp fry devoured by the Boal fry. At the end of 40 days we found to our utter surprise that the total number of carp fry consumed by this single Boal fry was 1,096, in addition to other kinds of food, such as protozoon or unicellular animal organisms and small crustacea belonging to the group of shrimp and lobster which were kept as food for both kinds of fry.

From this experiment it is evident that early identification of fry is absolutely essential. Identification of fingerlings, or the fry of about half-an-inch in length, is comparatively easy, but unless identification is made at a very early stage of the life of the fish, that is to say, before they grow into fingerlings, the business of fish culture becomes uneconomical, since the price of fingerlings is very much more than that of the smaller fry. Identification of early fry is almost unknown to the fishermen, although they are in the business for countless generations.

The fry of different carps can be identified by observing the following structures, namely, the head, mouth, jaw, snout, barbels,

colour of the fins, lateral line, spots and other peculiarities. For instance Catla has a broad and bulky head, Rohu and Calbaus have lips fringed and continuous, but Mirgal have discontinuous lips ; Rohu has one pair of barbels and Calbaus has two ; Catla has no barbel at all. There is also variation of colour of the barbels, such as, in Rohu it is grey and in Calbaus it is black. Regarding the colour of the body and fins, in Calbaus displays black, in Rohu rotten yellow, and Catla golden yellow. I have only mentioned a few characters for identification of different fry of food-fish, but there are, of course, other details, which I refrain from mentioning. From all these it is evident that early identification is possible. I must also point out that there are other kinds of enemies, such as insect larvae, which generally destroy the fry of carps. There are occasional enemies, namely, worms, spiders, tadpoles, frogs, birds and even mammals—otter, for example.

Now I may say something about nutrition of fry and adult fish. Nutrition is the most essential factor in the development of a living organism. It mainly depends upon the food supply. The natural food of fish fry consists of certain organisms such as, algae, protozoa, worms, daphnia, cyclops insect larvae, etc., which naturally grow in ponds and ditches, but certainly their growth can be influenced by human intervention. The question of extra food supply generally arises in a place where scarcity of food occurs.

Almost all the fishery departments and institutions in India have tried to provide artificial food for the fry and the adult of different species of carps. Most of them have reported on the relative value of this artificial food. Thus Madras Fishery recommends gingelly or ground-nut cakes for Catla. Bombay Fishery finds cooked rice and tomatoes valuable for fresh-water fishes. Trivendrum Fishery has reported that prawn meal, prawn dust, cotten seed meal, fresh liver of cow or sheep are the best for fresh-water fish. Bihar Department of Fishery has stated that properly minced heart and liver of sheep, goat, etc., and the refuse from the distilleries of rice mills and breweries are the most nutrient food for carp in general. The Punjab Fishery extols the merits of kitchen refuse and weeds, such as Hydrilla, as food for carps.

Natural food, which consists of living organisms, does not pollute water either when it is put in excess or when the residual food is left in the aquarium or pond.

The artificial food necessitates the proper regulation of food supply, frequent dewatering of aquaria or ponds and the removal of waste food materials. Dewatering of ponds is impossible for its excessive cost and, furthermore, for want of fresh water to fill in again.

There are other advantages regarding natural food, such as the liberation of oxygen and absorption of carbon dioxide, by green-algae during the time of photo-synthesis or carbon assimilation. Natural scavengers of excretory products of the fry are crustacea, molluscs, or insects. Besides these there are other aquatic plants which provide protection from excessive heat, draught, etc. I should also mention that the lower organisms are themselves the food of higher organisms, and this continues in a chain-like manner. So there is no need of providing food for organisms which serve as food for the fry of adult fish. But the lowest of organisms, namely, algae, which serve as food for the fry, must be given something to eat. Such food is of a chemical nature. I shall tell you presently about it.

The culture of algae depends upon the season, light and temperature. There are two main varieties of algae, the green and the blue-green. Blue-green algae are the preponderating variety, but sometimes in certain ponds the reverse is observed. This is due to the availability of certain kinds of food for the two varieties. One or the other kind of food determines the colour of the algae. If sunlight is cut off by some shade, such as that of a tree or a hut, the algal substance may die out altogether, or become dormant, and if light be available again, the algae reappear once more. For the artificial culture of algal substance the inexpensive vessel would be the shallow earthen vessel known as *gamla* (গামলা). The *gamla* should be coated with a thin layer of cement, both inside and out, in order to close the pores which cause the water to dry up soon.

Now, when the *gamla*, or any such receptacle, is ready, there should be added, to the water in it, certain chemical preparations, known as Knop's or Moore's solution. The ordinary Knop's or Moore's solution, with a little modification, has met with success in Bengal.

The cost of the chemicals in Knop's or Moore's solution is quite reasonable, and will not exceed four annas for a *gamla* of 16 gallons capacity, equivalent to four kerosene tin canisters. There is another

advantage that once you use these chemicals, or media, as the solutions are called, to start the culture of algae, there is no need of repeating it, as fresh algal material will crop up from the spores of the old bodies if they get only the proper light, temperature and moisture. Occasionally, however, they require the addition of a little media which serve as fresh food.

Algae should be frequently transferred to the ponds from *gamlas*, and served as food to the fry and fish. Unless this is done frequently, the algal material will die soon due to over-congestion and scarcity of its own food material. In the lake attached to the Calcutta University Science College, we have come across 36 varieties of algal material, but only 12 out of them have been found in the stomach of the 4 larger varieties of carps. From this it is evident that the fish have a selective habit regarding their particular food. Therefore, it is reasonable to provide only such algal food as the fish would like. Consequently, the culture of algal material should also be selective.

The natural food of fish also includes certain kinds of protozoan fauna, which I have mentioned before. Their culture is not difficult. A few live aquatic plants are placed in a pond which normally contains such protozoan life. To ascertain whether the pond contains such life or not, you have to use a compound microscope, but the common man has to depend on chance. Usually most tanks, ponds and lakes do contain such life. The protozoa gather together round the stalk of the aquatic plants, and they multiply pretty quickly. A pond is preferable, for its water not only contains the protozoon, but also algae as food for such fauna. The culture of protozoa should be done in *handies* (হাঁড়ি), and not in *gamlas*, as the *handies* must be covered with a small piece of cloth to prevent mosquitos laying their eggs. Once they are allowed to do so, the mosquito larvae will devour all the paramoecium and other protozoon. The culture of small crustacea is rather difficult The main problem concerns their food and season. We have found that for, cyclops and daphnia, although lettuce is good in Europe, in India it gives no satisfactory result. Any green vegetable matter, particularly algae, gives entire satisfaction in this country. Here, too, pond water should be used in order to get the cyclops and daphnia as seeds and also algae and protozoon as their food. Cyclops and daphnia do not breed at all times. There are two seasons for their breeding, one in January-March and the other in August-October.

I have now described the menu, and the rearing of fish. I have also indicated how food for the fish can be provided inexpensively but intelligently. If the methods of breeding and rearing of fish described by me are adopted, I have no doubt that the Bengal villagers will, in no time, be able to revive the old cry of contentment—" মৎস্য ধরিবে খাইবে সুখে "—catch fish and eat with pleasure.

In previous paragraphs I have described the breeding and rearing of certain fishes. Now I may describe the process of keeping them fit. The most important point in this connection relates, of course, to the provision of sufficient oxygen for breathing and healthy water for avoiding contamination and disease.

The need for oxygenation, or aeration, of fishes, at all stages from fry to adult, is universally recognised. The mortality at different stages and at the time of transport is colossal, and the net result is a tremendous amount of financial loss, all due to the want of oxygen.

Now, the question is, how to provide this oxygen. Many scientists have suggested expensive contrivances, such as electric pumps, double-walled chambers, etc., which are not easily available, or are beyond the means of the common man. We have to find an easily available and cheap means of supplying oxygen, or air. We can very well utilise old tyres and tubes which are available in abundance. The inner rubber tubes can, however, serve the purpose of the so-called 'oxygen cylinder' for fry and fish.

The actual process is pretty simple. The valve of the inner tube of a motor tyre, or of a bicycle tube, if any less quantity of air be sufficient, is removed and air is pumped into the tubes by means of a hand pump. An old hand pump, which costs about 4 rupees, may be used. Now, the connection of the hand pump with the nozzle of the tube is quickly removed, and to the nozzle is fixed one end of a thin rubber tubing, having a pinch-cock tightly fitted previously at a little distance from the other end. By manipulating the pinch-cock and immersing the free end of the rubber tube in the water, continuous bubbling of air can be obtained.

This method of aeration can be used in pits where the fertilised eggs are kept for hatching, in earthen *gamlas* to facilitate the culture of algae, in earthen *handies* to induce the culture of protozoon and crustacea, in the aquarium to satisfy the hobby of the amateur, in motor lorries and railway vans for the profit of the trader. The simple country folk may employ it in bullock carts, boats, and earthen

pots carried in slings suspended from the shoulders. Thus, the supply of oxygen is ensured from the breeding pits to the market. There is another advantage to those who have little or no space exposed to sun and air, such as in flats or small houses in cities like Calcutta. This sort of aeration is the only means of salvation to their pet or food fishes kept in decorative aquaria or receptacles.

With the problem of aeration is associated that of keeping the water pure. We cannot stock fish in a pond as long as we wish without ever cleaning it. The debris of plants, both terrestrial and aquatic, carcasses of animals, and other refuse matter accumulate at the bottom of the pond, there to rot and pollute the water. When such accumulation is considerable, there is no other remedy but to dewater the pond in order to get rid of the putrefied matter, and this means considerable expenditure. Even heavy expenditure may not yield any satisfactory result, for there are many other difficulties, among which may be mentioned the want of fresh water with which to fill the pond again. Consequently, as it is advisable to remove the putrefied matter when it accumulates, it may be easily done by means of a siphon, made with galvanised iron sheeting, the mechanism of which is quite simple. It has a basal tube attached to a double jacketed one. Both the inner and outer tubes of the jacket are attached to the basal tube at one end and the free end of the outer tube is attached to a long narrow tube on top. The free end of the inner tube has its tip closed but there is a hole at the side of the closed tip.

In order to close the top end of the long tube there is provided a lid which is put on before immersing the siphon in the pond. To work the siphon, quickly remove the lid as soon as the lower end of the siphon touches the bottom of the pond. The refuse together with a quantity of water from the bottom of the pond will be drawn up through the base tube and the inner tube will overflow through the side hole in the outer jacket mentioned just now. Then the siphon should be taken out of the water and the refuse matter along with the water is to be poured out by inverting the siphon in a bucket. By repeating this process the whole bottom surface of the pond can be cleaned.

While using the siphon it should be borne in mind that it must not be used too frequently, for the simple reason that such frequent use may interfere with the natural food of the fish, thereby doing

more harm than good. From a big pond it is easy to take out by this siphon 10 buckets of rotten matter at a time. The rotten matter can be profitably used as fertiliser for plants. It may be found advantageous to use a boat or a float, as required, to work the siphon in all parts of the pond.

Now, during the summer months, in Bengal, the water in the ponds evaporates so much that its specific gravity increases considerably, thereby resulting often in respiratory disturbance of the fish population. It may be due to the want of oxygen. The second difficulty may be due to the decomposition of sediments or organic matter, which ultimately leads to the formation of carbonic acid gas, or, in the extreme case, marsh gas, causing asphyxia of the fish population. The third difficulty may be due to the disturbance of pH, value which means the departure from normal of the acidity or alkalinity of water, either high or low. The low pH of water may be due to the settlement of putrefied matter at the bottom of the pond. Low pH means acid reaction and high pH means alkaline reaction. Remarkably sensitive and easy tests have been been developed to find out readily whether the particular water is neutral, acid or alkaline, and to measure its degree of acidity or alkalinity. This degree is known as *hydrogen-ion-concentration*. A scale has been adopted, in which 7·0 it is the neutral point. Below 7·0 it is acid, and above it is alkaline. Higher the figure, the more alkaline it is, lower the figure, the more acid.

I may relate here an incident of asphyxia of the fish population in a pond near Calcutta and the successful remedial measures that we adopted. On a hot summer day, in 1940, we got information that in the garden pond of a gentleman living in Bagmari, in the suburb of Calcutta, the water dried up considerably, and about 250 middle-sized adult carps had raised their heads above the water with a view to breathing in fresh air. Immediate measures were required, otherwise the fish population would die of suffocation. We rushed to the place within an hour with 7 motor inner tubes, a hand pump and an apparatus to determine the pH value of the water. Air was quickly pumped into the motor tubes and they were suspended by a strong coir rope passing through them, the tubes being held tightly at equal distances. The two ends of the rope were held by two men on opposite banks, and they were instructed to walk up and down the pond along the banks, dragging the tubes on the water, into which the

contained air was gradually released. Men were also engaged to swim to the suspended tubes to fill them up the moment they became empty. The pH value of the water was determined immediately before the operation started, and was found to be nearly 6·0, which was considerably below the neutral point. The difficulty was, therefore, of acid reaction. It was imperative that some alkaline substance should be added to the water in order to turn its acidity towards the neutral point. The cheap, and at the same time easily available, alkaline substance is the banana petiole juice. This juice was extracted from the banana plant by hammering the petiole and squeezing out the juice. The liquid was then poured into the pond. Altogether 11 banana plant petioles were used for this purpose. By passing air and thereby oxygen into the water by neutralising its pH value with the alkaline juice of banana petioles, the asphyxiated fish were made to regain gradually their normal condition, and then they slowly went down. Just before dusk, all the fish went down except 9, which, unfortunately, could not be saved.

It may be interesting to refer here to the money side of our operation in the Bagmari pond. We made a little calculation. The entire apparatus, if the owner bought them himself, would not cost more than, say, Rs. 40. In this case, of course, there was no payment made by him. He paid the labourers only, a matter of Rs. 5 at most. The weight of 250 fish saved, at an average of 8 lbs. each, was 2,000 lbs. Wholesale price in Calcutta ranges from 1 to 8 as per lb. Taking it at 3 annas a lb., we saved Rs. 375 worth of fish, a net profit of Rs. 330 to the owner, if he had paid for the apparatus as well.

Generally speaking, the fish thrive satisfactorily between 6·8 to 7.8 pH value. Any deviation from this in either direction may cause death to the fish population. Fish tolerates alkalinity more than acidity.

Some pisciculturists use bicarbonate of soda to make the water alkaline, and sodium phosphate (monobasic) to make it acid. But these chemicals are suitable only for small aquaria. They are enormously expensive for the treatment of ponds.

In order to turn the high alkaline water of any pond towards neutrality, boiled green tamarind fruit juice, or ripe tamarid fruit, may be used.

I have now described in some detail the fish culture and its problems in this country, based mostly on my experience—both in

laboratory and field—of the last 5 years' working on the Fishery scheme financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India. Fish culture is not merely profitable but also interesting. To-day, with the war at our doors, it is our imperative duty to get the most out of this industry, and that too as quickly as possible. We must also endeavour to provide for the future. We must breed, rear and keep the fish in condition. We must prevent waste in all directions. We must find easy and inexpensive methods for adoption on a large scale by the people. Traditional and empirical knowledge is good, but science can help much, and it is ever willing to help. There is no trade secret in science, no patent rights. Scientific knowledge, painstakingly gleaned by devoted men, is the property of all.*

* Mainly adapted from the three broadcast talks and published with the permission of the Station Director, All-India Radio, Calcutta.

THE WRITING OF INDO-BRITISH HISTORY

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INDIA'S long history in its three sections, ancient, mediaeval and modern, cannot be surveyed with confidence even by the most assiduous research worker. A very wide knowledge of languages and an ability and leisure to read an overwhelming mass of original authorities can alone create a sufficient foundation of detailed studies that will justify any attempt at painting on such a broad canvas. " An *a priori* philosophical reconstruction of the characteristics of past ages as we imagine them to have been " or the " second rate at second hand " cannot constitute historical research. We have to make one corner of this vast subject entirely our own and each of the three periods of Indian history has its problems peculiar to itself.

The writing of Indo-British history has until recent times been done mostly by Englishmen. The modern period of Indian history has not attracted as much attention among Indian research workers as the ancient or the mediaeval. We can ascribe this comparative indifference to the reluctance of the Government, until very recent times, to throw open their historical records to *bona fide* historical research. Though in theory the records of the pre-Mutiny period were available to us, we were exasperated by the censorship that existed and a feeling prevailed that the Indian student in England had greater freedom to utilise the India Office records than he had in his own country. But when all is said, we must confess that for some reason or other students of modern Indian history also had not the inspiration necessary for such work. Even the limited facilities were not taken advantage of and a general feeling prevailed even in University circles that there was not much to do in the modern period of Indian history. The state of things has no doubt improved. The Imperial Record Department has given access, unhampered by ignorant censorship, to records up to 1880 and the Provincial record keepers cannot natuarally lag far behind. Thus, those who are interested in the modern period of Indian history suddenly find at their disposal a mass of information which was not available before and of which the research worker had very little knowledge.

But the difficulty that still faces the student of modern Indian history is very considerable and perhaps this still acts as a deterrent. Though the actual Government records are the same, there are many other papers which make reference to the India Office or the British Museum or the archivist at Paris or Lisbon essential. Very few research students are so rich as to be able to bring rotographed or typed copies of records from archives in distant countries. This requires the generous support of the State, Universities or learned societies. To add to the difficulties of a reseach student, the local records and local private papers that throw so much light on the main lines of the Government's policy in its actual working, as also on the social and economic conditions, are still not available to him in a form in which he can utilise them. On account of all these handicaps, the student of modern Indian history finds that his work in the absence of the necessary data is found to be fragmentary. In a sense all historical research suffers from this defect. Fresh evidence is being made available adding to our knowledge of the sources on which we are to depend. But that is a different thing altogether. Ignorance of the existence of a particular source does not hamper work to any considerable extent, but the knowledge that a vast mass of untapped materials exists in district record rooms and not to have access to them damps all enthusiasm for research. Any student of the history of Bengal, contemplating the idea of writing the social and economic history of the province, cannot possibly view with equanimity the prospect of having to write only on the basis of the records of the Government of Bengal and of the Government of India. He will always have a feeling that in the absence of the district records of the period his work cannot really be of much value. All this partly explains why our contribution to modern Indian history has been very inconsiderable and the modern period of Indian history has unfortunately a character which is more British than Indian. With the exception of Sir W. W. Hunter, Dr. Firminger, Sir Evan Cotton and Prof. Dodwell very few British writers of Indo-British history have attached due importance to local records. But to write Indian history of the British period from the British standpoint does not perhaps require an intimate knowledge of these. There the foundation of insight and sympathy is lacking.

There is no desire on the part of any honest Indian historian to write in praise of his own countrymen where praise is not due. There is no intention of suggesting that British historians have

manipulated facts with deliberate *suppressio veri* or *suggestio falsi* but everyone has his personal inclinations and he sets forth things as they appear to him. Sir Charles Oman says, "History is not a purely objective thing. It is the historian's way of envisaging and correlating a certain series of events." Much depends on the mentality. Unfortunately for Indian history the British historian has the attitude of the "superior person." He cannot arrive at the spirit of the times and tries to scoff at the defects as they appear to him. We do not want to extenuate our weakness but we expect the historian to be at the same time appreciative of all that is great in us. Even the sense of values differ. To the Englishman writing about the achievements of his countrymen in India, the desire to belittle what existed before him comes very naturally. In the *Cambridge History of India*—a jointstock history which is a bad summary of some very good monographs—this tendency is very conspicuous. In Volume IV there is very little about the Mughal system of government, Central or Provincial, whereas Volumes V and VI give us an overfull picture of the growth of the British administrative system. There is absolutely no justification for this attitude of indifference to the Mughal system of administration. Materials are available in abundance and very good monographs have since been written. Moreover, without a study of the corpus of the socio-political institutions of a particular age no synthetic view can possibly be obtained. But the underlying assumption of those who planned the *Cambridge History of India* is that in the pre-British period, India presents merely the picture of court intrigues and palace revolutions where the governed have no reason to be grateful to the Government as during the British period. The thought of the material progress during the British period dazzled their vision and a corresponding contempt for the administrative system that preceded it was the natural consequence. The period immediately preceding the rise of the British power was one of anarchy when the efficiency of the Mughal administration had deteriorated. Conclusions were drawn from this period to justify this indifference.

In view of this attitude, very natural to an Englishman, the British period of Indian history is the story of the Englishman in India, not that of the Indian. Weakness is visible not merely in corner details, as is inevitable in the case of a foreign writer, but what is more, a particular conception of a period or of an individual is sought to be

inculcated. Where a detail is inconvenient it is slurred over. That Muhammad Ali suggested the seizure of Arcot is naturally omitted because it deducts from the greatness of Clive. Plassey is pictured as an epoch-making event and Clive as its victor. It is not adequately described as a gambler's venture. We are merely told that "after a momentary hesitation" he reached Plassey. But that the great victor of that battle, only forty-eight hours before, was thinking of waiting until he was joined by Mir Jafar, the Marathas or the Raja of Birbhum is an unimportant detail, not worth mentioning, because in history, where inconvenient, we are concerned with events rather than processes. We are told very little about the costly nature of the British conquest and the comparative scale of the fortune of the Indian Nabobs. In the description of the career of Warren Hastings those events loom large in the pages of Indian history as appeared important to his accusers in England. That historical perspective seems rather queer which attaches so much importance even now to the Rohilla War, the episode of Chait Singh and the affair of the Begums of Oudh, forgetting that during the period of gold lust, which commenced with the battle of Plassey, the agents of the East India Company, paid on a part time basis, were "wielding a truncheon with one hand and picking a pocket with the other." It does not strike those historians that perhaps the revenue experiments of Warren Hastings are more important from the Indian point of view than all the details relating to the trial of Nandakumar or the disputes with Francis. Warren Hastings had his defects in common with most English rulers of the period but he had, unlike Lord Cornwallis and other prancing proconsuls who succeeded him, a genuine respect for the culture of India, its literature, scholarship and arts. Nathaniel Halhead and Sir Charles Wilkins as pioneers, Sir William Jones and Henry Thomas Colebrooke as scholars and Hastings as the enthusiastic patron, present a picture that is certainly more favourable to Warren Hastings than the elaborate apologia to be found in the pages of Indian history. He is perhaps the only ex-Governor-General who in the peaceful seclusion of his retired life could tell a Governor-General designate that he should read Abul Fazl's *Ain-i Akbari* as a preparation for his task.

These illustrations are given only to show the difference in perspective. It is far from our intention to justify smart writing or *a priori* reconstruction. The Indian historian of the modern period of Indian history has also his own difficulties as narrated, his greatest

handicap being the feeling that he has not perhaps gathered all available evidence. This results in a tendency to "pottering" to go on from one detail to another without trying to formulate general conclusions. There are some others who merely produce materials and do not attempt to write narrative history. Though incomplete, the mass of material is overwhelming and the art of selection is difficult to learn. To go through twenty volumes of records to write a single chapter of narrative history is undoubtedly a difficult task. All the sifting and weighing of evidence before coming to conclusions does not seem to be worth the trouble, in view of the fact that fresh evidence may at any time be forthcoming necessitating a start anew. Therefore, many avoid this contingency by merely producing materials. In the words of Bolingbroke they merely make "fair copies of foul manuscripts," unless we are overfond or overproud of our achievements, we can see for ourselves that all that we can do is to set forth our story from all available evidence that we can collect and that "our work must perish but it had to be done."

INDEPENDENCE HALL

(PHILADELPHIA)

CYRIL MODAK

'Tis holy ground where I have trod, 'tis where
The gallant knights of Honour knelt and prayed,
'Tis where a spirited Nation did declare
The victory of Freedom unafraid,
And pledged that she should never bend her knees
To mean ill-tempered Might, nor bow her head
To tyrant Greed. Time changes histories,
Not man's grand passion to be free. The dead,
Who for a human Cause were martyred, live
In the unwritten annals of mute stone,
To shame the coward till he fly and give
His life to pluck Injustice from usurpéd throne.

O Bell! that in exultant peal on peal
Sent thy tumultuous greetings to the day!
O golden Bell of Liberty! I feel
A burning joy course through my mortal clay,
As standing rapt in reverence I hold
Thee in my arms. Thy deep sonorous voice
Proclaimed to thy new race in accents bold,
"Rejoice! For you are free! Rejoice! Rejoice!"....
Would I had heard those earth-convulsing chimes
Whose wild, ecstatic, proud pulsations thrilled
The world! Immortal then had been my rhymes
With cadence of that surging rapture filled!

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

P. KODANDA RAO

WITHIN a few hours of my landing in Suva, the capital of the Fiji Islands in the Pacific in 1936, a deputation of local South Indians met me with an invitation to give a public address in a language other than Hindi, preferably in some South Indian language, notwithstanding that they admitted that all local Indians understood Hindi! It was not out of any consideration for or compliment to my South Indian origin that they suggested the course. They brushed aside my protestation that I was not used to making public speeches in any South Indian language and would not be able to convey my thoughts through such a medium. They were not primarily interested in what I had to say but that I did not speak in *Hindi*. They were out to establish that among the Indians of Fiji Hindi was not the "cock of the walk," as it were and that any South Indian language was as good as Hindi.

There was an acute language controversy among the Indians in Fiji; nearly two-thirds of the immigrants had come from Hindi-speaking provinces in India and the rest largely from South India. Quietly and naturally Hindi was becoming the *lingua franca* of all Indians in Fiji. An education commission appointed by the local Government considered the medium of instruction in the primary schools meant for Indian children. Indian evidence recommended Hindi as the sole medium for all Indian children. It suited the administrative and financial conveniences of the Government, which accepted the recommendation. But some over-enthusiastic knight-errant of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of Indians in India and, in consequence, of all Indians overseas as well, arrived in Fiji from India, exalted Hindi and disparaged the South Indian languages. He created the impression that Hindi *per se* was, as it were, a *pucca* language and the others *kaccha*. His action offended the *amour propre* of the South Indians, and led to the formation of organizations with the avowed object of vindicating the *izzet* of the South Indian languages. With the zeal provoked by wounded pride, the South Indians raised moneys from their all too meagre resources and started private schools in rivalry to the Government schools with the sole purpose of giving instruction through the South Indian languages. With

pathetic heroism they sought to secure the recognition of the Fiji Government for their languages, and being unsuccessful, sullenly nursed a grievance against it. Like a drowning man catching at a straw, they hastened to me to enlist my sympathy and to persuade me to champion their cause. The first step in the campaign was to be a public address in a South Indian language!

The total population of Fiji was only 200,000. About half of it was Indian. Most of the Indians were coolies or petty farmers. Two-thirds of the Indians were Hindi-speaking and the rest largely South Indian. The linguistic groups were all mixed up and not isolated. If the mother-tongue of each child were to be adopted as the medium of instruction of that child, there would have to be established several small schools in each locality, each having one Indian language as the medium. Most such schools would not have the full complement of children to justify the expenditure. It was not possible to train or import teachers for the many languages of India represented in Fiji. The money needed to multiply linguistic schools could be better spent in opening schools in localities where no schools existed. Yes, all these considerations might be valid, but yet they were not conclusive, said the South Indian friends. Why should " our " languages be insulted and " their " language be exalted, they demanded to know.

If, they argued, it be right, from the pedagogic point of view, to commence a child's education through the medium of *his mother-tongue*, let there be as many schools as there are mother-tongues, irrespective of the cost and other considerations. If, on the other hand, it was inevitable for reasons of economy and administrative convenience to teach a child in some language *other* than his mother-tongue in Fiji, why, let it be English rather than Hindi. English was the language of the Government, and most of the publications available in Fiji were in English. It was the medium of instruction of post-primary education. It had the maximum of utility in Fiji. Everyone who aspired to anything needed it, though it might not be the mother-tongue. Hindi was not as useful as English in Fiji, and it was as foreign as English to non-Hindi children.

Apart from utility, language, they argued, had intimate cultural associations which transcended all other considerations. Language represented and enshrined the culture and the soul of the people. If to a Hindi-speaking person Hindi was sacred, as it were, because his revered *mother* spoke it, then Tamil was equally sacred to the Tamil-speaking person because his mother, whom he revered equally, spoke Tamil.

" My " language was as dear to " me " as " your " language was dear to " you." If " your " language is exalted and " mine " humiliated, it was an intolerable insult to " me."

II

About a hundred years ago there was no common language among all the Fijians of the time; there were several languages or dialects. White Christian missionaries from Australia came on the scene for evangelisation. They found the multiplicity of languages, each spoken by a small number of Fijians, a handicap. They selected one of the languages for standardisation, endowed it with an alphabet of Roman characters with some modifications, translated the Bible into that standard language and printed it in that script and adopted the common language and the common script in all the Fijian schools. As the result of their work almost all Fijians had become literate in the standardised language and have had a common language and script.

The White Australian Christian missionaries in charge of the education of the Fijians had met in a synod and graciously invited me to tell them what I thought of their work. I readily granted that theirs was a remarkable and noble achievement. If the hundred thousand Fijians had a script at all and a common script and a common language, it was the work of the foreign missionaries. Even more remarkable than the magnitude of the achievement was the spirit that inspired it. It was informed by a high-minded humility which was tender and considerate to the culture of the Native aborigines. The missionaries were fully conscious of the greatness of their language, English, and were rightly proud of it, even as they were conscious of the greatness of their religion, Christianity, and were proud of it. They could have imparted it to the Fijians, in supersession of their Fijian language, even as they imparted Christianity to them in supersession of their pagan religion. They could even have imposed the English language on them, if they cared. The Fijians would not have been able to resist them, even if they wished. And yet, while imparting Christianity to the Fijians, notwithstanding that it was *foreign* to them, they refrained from imparting or imposing the English language because it was foreign to the Fijians. Instead, they promoted an *indigenous* language of the people though they had to supersede all other equally indigenous dialects and impose a script which was foreign to all Fijians. Christianity was the only true religion, and the missionaries had no

hesitation in imparting it to the Fijians. But the same criterion did not apply to their language. Therefore, they promoted an indigenous dialect of the Fijians. It was part of their distinctive and integrated culture.

Granting the nobility of the motives and the greatness of the achievement, what had been the final results of their policy? In the whole world there were just a hundred thousand people who could read and speak the Fijian language. The total literature produced in the Fijian language after a century of effort did not fill a single shelf of a book-case. Except for the Bible, some hymn books and a few others, there was no literature produced in the Fijian language. Nor was there any prospect of rapidly enriching the literature in that language. Even a century later an *Encyclopaedia Fijica* was inconceivable. In the meanwhile, the whole world of knowledge which was not reproduced in the Fijian language was denied to the Fijians. They were, as it were, at the botton of a deep and narrow well; they could see only a small speck of the sky; the rest of the vast starry skies was out of their view. It was a denial and a deprivation. Even more than the average layman, the Christian missionary might be presumed to value the Bible and the hymns. But even the European missionary was not content that he and his family should have access to no other literature than the Bible and the hymns. His book-cases were many and were full of varied literature. The demand everywhere was for ever-increasing facilities for the acquisition of ever-increasing knowledge in ever-widening fields and for setting no limits to available literature. And yet, thanks to the noble but narrow policy adopted by the missionaries, the Fijians were denied the opportunities which they would have had if they had been taught English instead of a Fijian dialect.

III

These episodes illustrate the problems arising from languages, but they are not exhaustive. Similar problems vex politicians and educationists in many countries, not excluding India. In the island of Bali under the Dutch there was a school run by an Indian to teach English to Chinese adults! The Dutch Government was not interested in providing facilities for the learning of the English language; it promoted the Dutch language in so far as it countenanced any non-indigenous language in the Dutch East Indies. The Chinese immigrant found the

Dutch language as foreign to him as English but infinitely less useful. In South Africa, the Boers, who claimed that Afrikaans was their language but almost invariably learnt English also because of the latter's greater utility, felt humiliated that the Britishers, who felt that English was their language, did not care to learn Afrikaans on the ground that the latter was of no particular use. Indian children born and bred in South Africa imbibed the English language because it was the prevailing language in their environment. Their Indian-born parents insisted on their learning their ancestral Indian languages on the ground that otherwise they would lose their Indian culture. In India the Muslims claim that Urdu is their language and the vehicle of Islamic culture. They feel hurt if Urdu be disparaged and feel exalted if it be urged that it should be made the *lingua franca* of India. The Hindus all over India feel humiliated that in Hyderabad (Deccan) Urdu has been made the language of the State and the medium of instruction in the schools and in the University. The Muslims resent the propagation of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India on the ground that it was subversive of Muslim culture. Much of the feeling of the Indian nationalists against the English language is due to their antipathy to British imperialism in India. Anthropologists protest against aborigines of India being taught in a language other than their own dialects on the ground that it was destructive of their cultures and in consequence, of themselves.

IV

These facts give rise to two hypotheses regarding the role of languages. One is that a person's language is an integral and vital part of his culture; the other is that it is an instrument for the conveyance of his ideas. A Bengali would lose his Bengali culture if he gave up the Bengali language. Maharashtrians, who migrated to Tamilnad centuries ago and settled down there, still preserve the Marathi language in an environment of Tamil on the ground that they would lose their Maharashtrian culture if they gave up the Marathi language notwithstanding that it is of little use to them where they are now settled. The Muslim Moplahs in Malabar, whose mother-tongue has been the highly Sanskritised Malayalam for centuries, have recently been told that Urdu was the esential part and medium of Islamic culture and have demanded that they should be taught Urdu, notwithstanding that Urdu was of little practical utility in Malabar. Indians in South

Africa approve of their childern being taught English for its utility and their ancestral Indian languages for preserving their Indian culture. Anthropologists insist that Fijians should be taught in the Fijian language because it was essential for the continuance of Fijian culture, which in its turn was essential for the survival of the Fijians as a people.

Is there an organic link between a language and a culture? What, for instance, is Bengali culture and how is it integrated with the Bengali language? Language can convey ideas. Have a particular group of people, say the Bengalis, a set of special ideas, Bengali ideas, which their particular language, Bengali, alone can convey? If the people of India are a cultural group, what are the ideas which are their own, their speciality, and which is the Indian language which alone can convey Indian culture, whatever that may mean.

The Christian Bible contains teachings which are sacred to Christians all over the world; it constitutes the basis of Christian culture. But which is the language which is the sole medium of that culture? The Bible is not read by all Christians in the world in the same language. It has been translated into many languages obtaining in the world. Each Christian learns the Bible through the language he knows which is not necessarily of all others who share the common Christian culture. A common culture is communicated through a multiplicity of languages. Christ's teachings are not conveyed to Christians through the medium of the particular language which he himself used nearly two thousand years ago, but they are not the less Christian on that account.

Similarly with Muslim culture. The same Koranic culture is conveyed to Muslims from Morocco to the Philippines, from Turkistan to Java. But all the Muslims of the world who share a common Muslim culture do not speak the same language. Urdu is not the language of the Muslims or of Muslim culture all over the world. Hindu culture may be the same for all Hindus but they do not all speak the same language. The same *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are read in Bengali in Bengal, in Tamil in Tamilnad, in Marathi in Maharashtra, in Malayalam in Malabar and so on. Most Hindus do not know Sanskrit but they share a common Hindu culture. Shakespeare is read in English in England and in German in Germany. The same text-book of science is translated into several languages and the same scientific ideas are conveyed through a multiplicity of languages. Japanese news may emanate in Japanese, but in the course of a few hours the same news is read in many languages. There is no justification to hold that

ideas are linked with particular languages. The same idea can and is expressed in a variety of languages.

When we say that a particular organism is a plant, we are thinking only of those characteristics which it has in common with all plants and which distinguish plants from animals. Bengali culture, whatever its content, must be common to all Bengalis and be distinct from non-Bengali culture, say Marathi or English culture. What are the ideas which are common to all Bengalis and which distinguish Bengalis from non-Bengalis?

Language is not property to be owned by any set of people. Property is halved by sharing; language is multiplied, instead. Bengali does not belong to the Bengalis; English is not the property of the British. Language is not a biological inheritance; no person was born with a language. Language is acquired. Anybody can acquire any language, if the facilities and the incentive be available. The theory that there is an organic and vital connection between a group of people and a set of ideas and a particular language seems to be unfounded. English is not the language of the Britishers, which alone can convey ideas of democracy. There can be and are all kinds of permutations and combinations between peoples, ideas and languages. Swami Vivekananda, Mrs. Annie Besant and Sir Radhakrishnan expressed similar concepts on Vedanta though they used the medium of the English language. The Fijian language is not necessary for the expression of Fijian culture and for the survival of the Fijian people. Hindi is not necessary for the expression of Hindu culture to the Indians in South Africa. It can be expressed through the English language or any other.

V

Language is an instrument for the conveyance of thought. It should be judged by the criterion of its efficiency in fulfilling its purpose rather than by mere historicity. Inasmuch as any language can be learnt by anybody to express any idea, and nobody has a monopoly over any language or over any idea, the feeling that this is " my " language and that is " your " language has no scientific justification. It is a superstition which has caused much unnecessary human misery and strife. Instead, let a language be selected for its maximum utility, and let historicity be sacrificed, if necessary. There is no justification for a Hindu to eschew the electric lamp because his grandfather read his *Mahabharata* in the light of an oil-lamp. There is no need for

a Muslim to avoid the fountain-pen because his uncle used a reed-pen and a bag of sand as a blotter. If English is more useful to the Indians in Fiji than Hindi, there is no reason why they should heroically burden themselves with Hindi. If the Fijian language is never likely to give access to as much knowledge as the English language, there is no justification for sticking to the former. The immigrants from the European Continent soon give up their particular languages when they settle down in the United States of America and make English, rather American, their mother-tongue. The language of North China was so different from that of South China that interchange of ideas was practically impossible. Now, a single language has been standardised for the whole of China, and millions of people are learning as their mother-tongue what to them is a new language. Language is mutable and dynamic. Survival depends on efficiency, not ancestry.

Languages and dialects each spoken by comparatively small number of people in the world have no future; they can never give access to the ever-increasing knowledge in the world. There are several languages and dialects in India, particularly those spoken by small groups of aborigines, that must be allowed to fade away, notwithstanding the protests of anthropologists. In industrial plants there are "economic units" which have a survival value. Smaller units are uneconomic and go under. Similarly, it may be said of certain languages that they are "uneconomic units." It is desirable that such units should be deliberately eliminated.

If the theory of language advanced here is valid and is widely accepted, there would and should be no disputes over languages such as the ones at present, which are based on the irrational, unscientific and sentimental grounds of "mine" and "thine." A language "belongs" to him who learns it and anybody can learn any language. Let him learn the one which is the most efficient in his environment.

A NOTE ON GENERAL VENTURA'S *JAHGIR*

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OF the four military adventurers who learnt their trade in Napoleon's army and earned their bread in Ranjit Singh's service not the least fortunate was General Jean Baptiste Ventura, Comte de Mandy. The estate left by his comrade in arms, the Frenchman Allard, was computed at the modest sum of twenty-five thousand rupees, while Ventura raised no less than eighty thousand by the sale of his horses, elephants, boats and miscellaneous belongings alone.[1] The Neapolitan Avitabile, more careful about his purse and future provision than Allard, had indeed closed his account with the East India Company's government at four lakhs and fifty thousand, but the *Jahgir* of Mademoiselle Ventura fetched in 1852 twenty-four thousand pounds or two lakhs and forty thousand rupees in Indian currency, a considerable fortune any day, more so a century ago.[2] The scholarly Count became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England and the learned societies of the Continent delighted to honour him, but it is doubtful whether he was financially so well provided as Avitabile and Ventura when he retired home with his second Kashmiri wife. His *Jahgirs* were certainly less lucrative than those held by Ventura in the life time of Ranjit Singh, to which considerable additions were made by the munificence of other princes.[3] The small estate of the Count was eventually confiscated by the Sikh government after the assassination of Sher Singh, but Ventura successfully weathered all the political storms of those uncertain times and retained his lands even after the British annexation of the Punjab. Though a failure at the Bourse, and not uncommonly circumspect in his political correspondence,

[1] C. Grey, *European Adventurers of Northern India*, p. 115.

[2] According to Grey and Garrett, Ventura sold his daughter's *Jahgir* for £20,000. But the deed of sale, which was duly attested by the British Consulate at Paris, clearly states that the East India Company paid one thousand pounds in advance and twenty-three thousand pounds at the time of the execution of the deed. A life pension of £300 per annum was on this occasion granted to Ventura.

[3] We learn from Grey and Garrett that the Count's *Jahgir* brought him Rs. 650 per month while the total income from Ventura's *Jahgir* amounted to Rs. 800 per mensem. (*European Adventurers in Northern India*, pp. 104 and 153.)

Ventura earned the good will of the Sikhs and the Britishers alike. How he steered clear of the Scylla of Sikh suspicion and the Charybdis of British disfavour still remains a mystery.

Ventura began his Indian career on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem, which, according to Grey and Garrett, "had by the year 1826 increased to Rs. 3,000, and as from time to time *Jahgirs* bringing in a total income of about Rs. 800 per month were added to this, his income was quite considerable."[1] But Ranjit Singh was not always punctual in his payments and his officers were often left in arrears. Ventura, moreover, kept a harem even after his marriage in 1825, and when his wife left him, a suitable allowance had to be granted.[2] His savings, therefore, might not have been as considerable as his nominal income. But when he retired from the Sikh service, he was quite well off if not actually opulent.

In 1837 he went to Paris on leave with his only daughter, Claudine Victorine, but the news of his master's illness soon brought him back to India. The political unrest in the Punjab convinced him of the early need of winding up his affairs, but it was not until 1843 that he finally made up his mind, sold all his effects except the Ludhiana house,[3] where his Armenian wife still lived, and his daughter's *Jahgir*,[4] and left for British India to sail for Europe in November of the next year. How he succeeded in inducing the East India Company's Government[5] to look after the management of his estates we do not know, but the terms, if they were as good as those he obtained in 1850, were entirely to his advantage. It may be safely assumed that but for this arrangement his, or to be strictly accurate, his daughter Claudine's, *Jahgir* might have been forfeited after the British annexation of the Punjab. Ventura seems to have carefully

[1] C. Grey, ed. Garrett, *European Adventurers in Northern India*, p. 104. The figure given by Grey and Garrett is of doubtful accuracy. Mackeson wrote to Inglis (Letter No. 52 of 1848) on the 20th March, 1848, that Ventura's salary never exceeded Rs. 30,000 per annum.

[2] Grey says that "In 1825 Ventura was married at Ludhiana to an Armenian lady of mixed descent." (*European Adventurers*, p. 104). Latif, however, asserts that the lady was a European The nuptials took place at Lahore according to the French form, the Maharaja presenting the bridegroom with ten thousand, and his courtiers and Omerahs with thirty thousand rupeer, as tambol." (*History of the Panjab*, p. 433.) According to Mackeson, Ventura's wife was an Armenian

[3] The Lahore residence was also retained by Ventura with all the furniture.

[4] Mackeson writes (Letter No. 63, dated 29th March, 1848) that in 1844 Ventura wished to sell this *Jahgir* to the Chief of Nabha but was prevented from doing so by the Governor-General's Agent.

[5] It should be noted that the Government had not formally undertaken to manage Ventura's estate, which had been placed under the care of the Governor-General's Agent.

provided for all eventualities and that explains why the *Jahgir* was granted to the daughter for services rendered by the father.

It appears that the *Jahgirs* were granted at different times, as J. Inglis writes to Major Mackeson,[1] " You will observe that the whole of the villages, now comprising the Jagheer claimed by General Ventura, were not granted at the same time. The grant of the village Rajiwal in Loodianah having been made in 1893—that of Halwara etc. in Wadni in 1896. The grant of all seems to have been afterwards repeated in one deed and this deed is said to have been confirmed by Maharaja Shere Sing as the regent on behalf of the Dulleep Sing." We get further details about the *Jahgir* in the deed of sale[2] executed by Claudine Victorine Ventura de Mandy and Jean Baptiste Comte Ventura de Mandy in favour of the East India Company on the 10th December, 1852. According to this deed, the *Jahgir* consisted of the " villages and tracts of land called Talwundee, Halwara, Boorj Hurrie Sing, Boorj Sutan, Puttee Roopa and Rajiwal situated to the west of Loodiana District in the Province of Lahore." Legal precision probably demanded the inclusion of " any other villages or tracts of land in Lahore aforesaid." It is also possible that Jean Baptiste had no precise knowledge of the villages held by him and his daughter in *Jahgir*, and his minor daughter could not be expected to be better informed than her father.[3]

When was this *Jahgir*, which Claudine Victorine Ventura de Mandy claimed to hold in perpetuity, originally granted to her ? According to the document cited above, the *Jahgir* was granted to Ventura's daughter by " Maharajah Runjeet Singh in about the year one thousand eight hundred thirty four and confirmed and recognised by him and his successors Maharajahs of Lahore." If this assertion is correct, General Ventura must be credited with uncommon political foresight. Full five years before Runjeet Singh's death he had obtained a formal grant from the Maharaja that would, under normal conditions, secure the *Jahgir* for his daughter at least for her life-time, if not in perpetuity. But in the absence of the original records it is not safe to accept the statement at its face value, for we learn from the deed of sale that " the said Jean Baptiste Comte Ventura de Mandy claims

[1] Letter, dated the 19th April, 1848, P.C. 25th January, 1850. No. 102.
[2] Copy forwarded with the Despatch No. 4 of 1853, dated the 2nd March, 1853, P.C. 22nd April, 1853, Nos 165 66.
[3] Campbell in his report on Ventura's *Jahgir* mentions six villages.

to be entitled to some interest in the said Jagheer and the past revenues thereof," though it is not anywhere stated that the grant was made jointly to the father and the daughter.[1] It is also to be noted that Claudine Victorine was a minor of 20 years in 1850 when, by a deed executed at Paris,[2] she conferred upon her father "a power of Attorney fully authorising him to act on her behalf in the matter of the Jageer." The *Jahgir* was, therefore, granted when she was a child of four, if the testimony of the deed of sale is to be accepted.

General Ventura returned to India once again in 1848 while the second Sikh war was still in progress. The old adventurer offered to fight the state he once served but some indiscretions at London had made him a suspect in the British eyes and his services were politely declined.[3] He stayed on in India, and it appears that he wanted to assume the direct administration of the *Jahgirs* which were then under attachment.[4] The Company's Government could not comply with his request for reasons explained in Mr. Inglis's letter to Major

[1] In a letter dated the 18th March, 1848 Ventura gives the following account of the grant and its nature :

"In 1833 Maharaja Runjeet Singh honoured me with a visit at my house in Annarkullee, and on my introducing my daughter Victorine, then two years old to him he gave her certain villages in the Joudpore country. In 1840 in accordance with a request made to me by Colonel Wade P.A. of Loodianah these villages were exchanged for those which are now in my daughter's possession.

The terms of the Purwanah were drawn out in due form and the grant was accorded from generation to generation. This right has been acknowledged by all the chiefs that have since succeeded in the Punjab.

This gift was made on one condition which was accepted by me, that for the future I should not demand any increase of emolument; thus in fact the grant has been paid for by my having given up the emoluments which I ought to have received with my superior appointments; there is no doubt that having been raised from rank to rank till I have attained that of General, I might be receiving double the emolument with which I have remained content, because of the condition just mentioned.

Every body knows that the Maharajah made this gift to my daughter on the left bank of the Sutledge surrounded by the possessions of the Company in order that it might be assured to her after his death under the protection of the Hon'ble Company's Government and that he might not be benefited to take possession of it himself again he permitted me to place it in the hands of the representatives of the English Government which you know I have always done since Mr. Clerk resided at Umballa till the present date.

As to Mr. Campbell's observation that it is I who want to draw the revenue of the villages and not my daughter, I beg you to remark that my daughter being a minor, it is my duty to watch over her interests, so that this observation is not sufficient to prove that the *Jahgir* was given more to me than to my daughter."

[2] Political Despatch to Court, 15th September, 1850, No. 33 The deed is dated 1850. Mademoiselle Ventura described as a resident of Rue du Faubourg St. Honore No. 68 (old No. 64). It is stated in this document that she was born on the 22nd of April, 1830.

[3] Grey, *op, cit.*, p. 115.

[4] After the first Sikh war all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej, together with the Jalundar Doab, were ceded to the East India Company, and it was decided to sequestrate all the *Jahgirs* and *Maafi* lands in the ceded Districts pending an enquiry into the rights of the holders. They were, however, permitted to administer the sequestrated *Jahgirs* on furnishing a security. As Ventura's *Jahgir* was in reality under British management, it should not have been sequestrated, and Ventura's prayer was not of an unusual nature.

Mackeson.[1] In para. 9 of that letter we read, "As General Ventura is an European foreigner and has never been in the occupancy and management of the Jagheer and as he is moreover only the temporary guardian of the grantee until her marriage or coming of age the Chief Commissioner does not think that it should be expedient to make over to him the management of the villages." There were other legal and administrative difficulties which demanded serious consideration. Although there was no doubt about the grant, the name of the grantee herself could not be found in any of the papers preserved in the Sikh archives. There remained the important question to be decided whether the grant was to terminate with the life of the grantee. "The terms of all the Sunhuds of the Punjab Government are the same and in words imply perpetual duration—by universal practice a grant lapsed on the death of either the grantor or the grantee". In this case some of the grantors were already dead and the Chief Commissioner was prepared to confirm the *Jahgir* to the grantee "for her life open to the consideration of the Government of the day, on the occasion of her death, whether the produce of the villages or any portion thereof shall be continued in the next generation." Lastly, the Government deemed it incumbent upon them to safeguard the interests of other parties. "It is expressly stated that the interests of the Rajpoots in the portion of Halwara and Tulwundy in their possession were reserved to them and excluded in terms for the grant of General Ventura's daughter." Further, there seems to have been some doubt "whether the right of the said Claudine Victorine Ventura de Mandy did not upon such conquest become void" as "the said country of Lahore afterwards became by conquest annexed to and now forms part of the British Dominions in the East Indies."[2] General Ventura was, therefore, called upon to produce a "copy of the deed of 10th Cheyt, 1896 and the confirming deeds of the succeeding Sovereigns" and "to put on record the name and date of birth of the young lady in whose favour the grant was made." The General categorically declined to "furnish information called for in regard to his Jagheer in the letter of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner No. 102, dated 19th April, 1848, on the ground that a partial compliance with the provisions would be an acquiescence in the justice of orders against which

[1] Dated the 19th April, 1848.
[2] This occurs in the deed of sale.

he has appealed to the Court of Directors."[1] The Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana enquired "whether or not payment is to be made to the General of the Revenue for his Jaghir." But the Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States, decided that "There is no necessity to deprive General Ventura of the Proceeds of his Jagheer" and this decision was approved by the Government of India[2] despite the objections of the Board of Administration. Evidently, the Italian adventurer had influential friends who pleaded his cause with success.

In 1850 the negotiations made satisfactory progress and General Ventura "obtained from his daughter a power of attorney fully authorising him to act on her behalf in the matter of the Jageer."[3] It was finally settled that the General would receive the sum of £1,000 per annum in lieu of the revenue of the *Jahgir*[4] and the settlement was to take effect from the first May, 1850. According to Sir Henry Elliot, the *Jahgir* was calculated to yield Rs. 10,000 per annum,[5] and as the exchange rate was two shillings to the Rupee, General Ventura struck an excellent bargain, which secured him and his daughter the entire revenue of their *Jahgir*. In a Despatch,[6] dated the 22nd August, 1851, we read that the Ventura estates were assessed at Rs. 9,334, but it was recommended that General Ventura should be paid "£1,000 per annum notwithstanding that the Jageer does not yield quite so much."

Not content with the very profitable settlement that he had made, General Ventura tried to get something more than the first year's annuity, on the plea that "the revenue of his Jageer for the first six months of the year is not collected till May and June and consequently, although he had been paid in India the whole amount which had actually reached the Deputy Commissioner's Treasury up to the 30th

[1] Lt.-Col. F. Mackeson, C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent Cis-Sutlej States, to P. Melvill, Esq, Offg. Secretary to the Board, Lahore, dated 8th November, 1849. P. C. 25th January, 1850, Nos. 24-25.

[2] Sir Henry Elliot's letter to the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab, dated the 16th January, 1850.

[3] Political Despatch to Court, 15th Septemb r, 1850, No. 33.

[4] Political Despatch to Court, 25th November, 1850, No. 44. According to W. H. Larkins, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, the former assessments of the Ventura estates were as follows: Sumbut 1900 at Rs. 7,858, Sumbut 1901 at Rs. 7,675, Sumbut 1902 Rs. 8,835 (Letter to Mackeson No. 78, dated 5th April, 1848). In 1849 the *Jahgir* was summarily assessed by Larkins at Rs. 13,499-10-8¾ (Letter No. 39, dated 11th March, 1849). The terms granted to Ventura in 1850 were, therefore, unusually liberal. But as he wrote to Mackeson, Ventura relied more on the "generosity and consideration of the British Government" than on the *sanads* he received from his Sikh masters.

[5] Political Despatch to Court, dated 16th May, 1851, No. 30.

[6] Political Despatch, No. 57 of 1851.

April, 1850, he had in fact received nothing on account of the rents which accrued for the months of January, February, March and April, and he solicited that in lieu thereof a payment might be made to him on that account of a sum equivalent to four-twelfths of his annuity or in other words, that his annuity might be held to commence with the beginning of the Civil, instead of the official year."[1] The General had indeed received an advance of Rs. 4,000, on condition that this sum should be deducted from his allowance on the 1st May when it fell due. The Directors argued that "If this payment was intended as an equivalent for the revenue accruing to the General from his Jageer for the first four months of the year, although not receivable in the local treasury till after the 1st May, it appears that no deduction should be made on that account from the annuity payable in this Country." They, however, thought that an overpayment had been made, as four-twelfths of £1,000 would amount to £333-6-8 and not Rs. 4,000 or £400.[2] To this the Government of India replied, through Sir Henry Elliot, "The reason why Rs. 4,000 was remitted to General Ventura was not because any rents were then due to him, but because he represented that he had borrowed money to enable him to procure a passage to England and the reason why Rs. 4,000 was remitted rather than any other sum was that it represented the amount which would have been shortly due for the spring harvest—as his Jageer was represented to yield the proportion of two-fifths in the Spring harvest, and three-fifths in the autumn harvest—which, as the Jageer is calculated to yield Rs. 10,000 per annum, is 4,000 for the former and 6,000 for the latter."[3] Sir Henry Elliot, however, concluded his despatch with the following observations:

"If your Hon'ble Court are so far inclined to concede the indulgence to General Ventura of paying him by the Civil instead of the official years, from January to December instead of from May to April, I have not the least objection to offer, as I am most anxious that he should be treated with all kindness and consideration—but I would merely beg to remind you that, in doing so, you would, every year, be paying him four months in advance of any collection from his *Jageer*." So it is not unlikely that Ventura pocketed 4,000 Rupees more than the stipulated allowance, but the papers

[1] Political Despatch to Court, dated 16th May, 1851, No. 30. Also see Revenue Despatch from Court, No. 4 of 1851.

[2] Para. 4 of Revenue Despatch from Court, No. 4 of 1851.

[3] Para. 5 of Political Despatch to Court, dated 16th May, 1851, No. 30.

in the Imperial Record Department do not offer any definite information.

In December, 1852, Ventura and his daughter surrendered "all rights and interest claimed by them in the *Jageer* in th e Punjab granted to the latter by the late Maharaja Ranjeet Sing[1] in consideration of a cash payment of £24,000 and a life pension of £300 per annum to General Ventura" and here we might take leave of the Comte de Mandy and the *Jahgir* but for two communications about the pension made in 1854 and 1855. The Despatch No. 27 of 1854, dated the 18th October, directed "That the Life pension of £300 per annum granted to General Ventura who is about to proceed to India be paid to him in Calcutta from the 30th September last," and the Despatch No. 42 of 1855 informed the Governor-General of India in Council that "General Ventura's Annuity of Three Hundred Pounds (£300) will be issued from our Home Treasury from 31st December, 1854, the date of the last payment to him in India as certified by your Sub-Treasurer under date 6th February, 1855, No. 368." It is, therefore, evident that General Ventura's pension was paid for the last quarter of 1854 only at Calcutta. We cannot help wondering whether he came to India for the fourth time in 1854 or ultimately changed his mind and abandoned the projected visit. In any case, his stay in this country must have been remarkably brief, as no further payment seems to have been made here. Had he still some property in India to be disposed of? What happened to his Behar estate? His Armenian wife subsisted on a pension granted by the British Government, and Ventura would not travel all the way to India on her account. The last payment made to Ventura by the British Government in India, therefore, confronts us with an unsolved mystery. Ventura was believed to have left a vast treasure in this country. It is pertinent to enquire whether the last journey or contemplated visit to India had anything to do with this legend.

Ventura breathed his last at Paris in the first week of April four years later (1858). We wish we knew more about a man who played so prominent a part in the Punjab of Ranjit Singh, but more light would mean less mystery and an intimate portrait of Ventura might not prove so colourful as the shrouded figure in the deep shades of a distant stage with a grim background of bloody strifes and dark designs.

[1] Home Department (Revenue) Cons., 22nd April, 1853, No. 1.

A NOTE ON RECENT IDEAS ON IMPERIALISM

FOR some time past there has been discussion in Great Britain and in other parts of the British Empire regarding two aspects of Imperialism. In the first place there has been some searching of heart regarding the ideals and principles on which the Empire has been so far based. The rapid fall of Malaya, Singapore and Burma brought home to a considerable section of the British people the flimsiest hold which His Majesty's Government actually had upon the peoples of these areas. If there had been the slightest intelligent support of the British Government on the part of the local inhabitants, it would have been impossible for the Japanese to extend their sway so easily and so rapidly. Many of the journals including the London *Times* accordingly came to be of the view that in the remaining parts of the British Empire and, in the lost territories if they might be regained, there must be in the future a new basis of imperial rule. The organisation should be such as would provide for an intimate association of the local population with the administration. The local people must have an equal status and an increasing control over the public affairs of their country so that they might have something to fight for in case of a fresh aggression from outside. Just as the British defeat in the American War and the consequent loss of the thirteen Colonies in the 18th century led to a reversal of British policy towards other Colonies and to the later stabilisation of a new British Empire, so the defeat in Malaya and Burma should lead to a new orientation of imperial policy and principles. "...in another sense," wrote the *Times* early in March last, "defeat must serve, just as defeat in the American War of Independence served, as the starting point of a fresh advance in which, adapting herself to changed needs, Great Britain may once more become the pioneer of new policies and new outlook. No alternative is open to her if she wishes to remain a Great Power."

This point of view, given currency by different journals and different sections of the people, did not, however, appeal to either the imagination or the conviction of the great Imperialists who have found their way to the British Cabinet. We are particularly naming Colonel Amery and Mr. Duff Cooper. That both of them are doughty

champions of Imperialism as it has been practised in non-white countries for nearly 200 years by the people of Britain, none will demur. They are, in fact, along with their chief, Mr. Churchill, the strongest existing pillars of the structure of this Imperialism. That they do not want any change in either the foundation or in the superstructure they have proved by their actions as well as by their declarations. On the last Empire Day Mr. Amery and Mr. Duff Cooper both made speeches by way of countering the reaction against the Old Imperialism which they noticed in the country since the fall of Singapore and Burma. Earlier (on March 6) Mr. Amery had made a speech at the Oxford Union, in which also he declared that there was nothing in the Imperialism of Britain, of which the British people might be in any way ashamed. In fact, he and his colleague have for the last few months tried their best to convince the English nation that the recent loss of territories in the Far East has not been due in the least to the old system of Imperialism which was as high in ideal as efficient in practice. The loss of territories was due to other reasons and factors, over which His Majesty's Government could have no control. In this fight against the temporary reaction in Britain against the Old Imperialism, Mr. Amery and Mr. Duff Cooper have been ably supported by reactionary journals including the *Nineteenth Century and After*, the editor of which has taken up cudgels against every person and every newspaper questioning the basic principles of the British Empire. Even the *Times*, which is no longer under the control of the old Dawson and which for some time advocated an intelligent adjustment to new situations and circumstances, was trounced mercilessly by the *Nineteenth Century*. It appears that this trouncing has not been without effect The recent outburst of the *Times* against the policy of the Indian National Congress bears an excellent testimony to the fact that, however sweet some of its words and views may have sounded to the people of the Crown Colonies and other dependent territories, it has not lost its old anchor. It still holds. In fact, the fall of Singapore and Burma might have temporarily dazed some sections of the British people and brought home to them the necessity of remodelling the old imperial system. But this reaction appears to have been temporary. With the stabilisation of British military position elsewhere and with the hope of final victory at the end, it is unlikely that the British people will have a permanent change in conviction.

While in respect of those territories of the British Empire which are inhabited by non-white people, every attempt is being made to maintain, even strengthen, the old system, there has been some speculation as to the reorganisation of British relationship with the territories in which a large body of white people have been settled. After the secession of the thirteen American Colonies from the British Empire in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the British people, or rather the intelligent and vocal section of it, lost interest in colonies and became convinced that like fruits they would cling to the tree only till they ripened. Nor did many British statesmen actually regret that they would so ripen and fall off. Rather, one of them, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, wrote a treatise in which he advocated the adoption by Britain of the policy of independence for the Colonies. It was because of such advocacy that first representative and then responsible government was conferred upon the British and other white settlements within the Empire. Gradually, when these settlements were found unsatisfied merely with internal autonomy and demanded control over their foreign relations as well, the question arose as to how this could be reconciled with their connection with the British Empire. The imperialist ambition of some other Powers was also meanwhile whetted and the problem of protecting the dispersed Colonial Empire from their possible aggression had also to be tackled. In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century only one solution of these problems was thought of. This solution some enthusiasts found in Imperial Federation and a movement for the promotion of this ideal was set on foot by men like Lord Rosebery, Sir John Seeley, Lord Tennyson and Sir Henry Parkes. A League also was actually launched in 1884 to this end but various factors stood in the way of the achievement of the ideal. The framing of an imperial constitution was not found feasible and the League had to be dissolved after it had made vain efforts in this direction for about ten years.

Somehow until the last War, the old system of organisation, in which the Colonies had full internal control but were subject to the British Government in the shaping of external policy, was maintained. The War, however, demanded new decisions. For a time there was some toying with the idea of Imperial Federation and representatives of the Colonies were not only invited to the Imperial War Conference but also to an Imperial War Cabinet. The plan was, however, found unsatisfactory, at least from the point of view of the British

Government and people. Accordingly, the Imperial War Cabinet did not meet after 1918 and after the War there was drifting away of the Colonies, now called Dominions, from association with the British Government. The Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 virtually made the Dominions independent of British connection except through the common Crown.

As a result of the Dominions gaining sovereign status after the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, they did not automatically become belligerent when England declared war against Germany in September, 1939. They came into it of their own accord and by their own declaration. But the continuance of the war and particularly its extension to the Pacific zone brought about a change in the outlook of Australia in respect of its connection with Great Britain. It must be pointed out that the Dominion of Canada, while wholeheartedly associated with Britain in the conduct of the war against the Axis, has uniformly maintained its old policy of autonomy and separatism. It did not either demand or desire any representation in the British War Cabinet. Nor did it advocate the formation of any Imperial War Cabinet for the conduct of the present War. The Dominion Government of Canada was quite satisfied with the existing arrangement. In other words, while it would remain a loyal member of the British Commonwealth and co-operate sincerely and enthusiastically with Britain in this War against the totalitarian Powers, it would not on this account enter into any organisation which might be inconsistent with its autonomy and independence. It is not necessary at this place to enter into the detailed reasons for this attitude on the part of the Canadian Government and people. It may only be mentioned that the Canadians want as much to be associated with Great Britain in the present struggle for democracy as with its southern neighbour, the United States of America.

Australia has, however, looked at things from a different angle. It found that if the war in the Pacific was to be conducted with as much vigour as it demanded and if it was not to be regarded as only of secondary importance, it was essential that Australia must have a full-fledged member in the War Cabinet of Britain to represent this standpoint. The British Government, however, did not, for many reasons, entertain the point of view of the Commonwealth Government. It found, in the first place, that the other Dominions were either opposed or lukewarm in respect of this demand for representation in the British

War Cabinet. Secondly, this Cabinet was responsible to the British Parliament. If this responsibility was to be real, it was not possible to include within this Cabinet any person who would be accountable not to British opinion so much as to the opinion in a Dominion. Thirdly, it was also emphasised that if a Dominion was to be represented at all in the British War Cabinet, it could be represented effectively only by its Prime Minister who could bind his country and Government to any decision arrived at by the War Cabinet. But as it was out of the question for a Dominion Premier to keep away from his country, the representation could not but be ineffective. But inspite of this opposition on the part of His Majesty's Government in England, the demand for representation in the War Cabinet grew apace in Australia and at last a *via media* was cut out. The compromise was to the effect that Australia and some other members of the British Empire would have representatives in the British War Cabinet. These representatives, however, would not have the full status and privileges of a member of the War Cabinet. They would, in fact, be there to present the case of their country and to receive the opinions of the War Cabinet. In view of this arrangement it is unlikely that they would always have an influence over the decisions of the British War Cabinet.

The compromise, referred to above, shows that His Majesty's Government was unwilling to associate the Dominions with Great Britain more closely than before. The formation of a War Cabinet on the basis advocated by the Australians would necessitate the establishment of an Imperial legislature (as against the present British legislature), to which this Cabinet might be responsible. But this would mean a far-reaching change to which many people in Britain would not agree. Mr. Amery has in fact definitely pointed out that a closer association, either in the shape of Imperial Federation or in some other form, cannot be entertained at the present time. Lord Selborne, who happens to be the Minister of Economic Warfare in the present Cabinet, has, of course, advocated the establishment of an Imperial Parliament, preferably in some centre in South Africa. He is a great believer in the closer unity of the Empire and thinks that it can be maintained through such an Imperial establishment. But his view has not found favour with the rest of the Cabinet. It is unlikely, in view of this, that after the conclusion of the present War there will be any far-reaching change in the organisation of the Empire, as some people may look forward to.

BEAUTY

CYRIL MODAK

Mad tantalizer of the human heart,
Glad tantalizer of the heart divine,
Elusive Beauty ! in what unknown art
Or form dost thou reveal that lure of thine?

The shy Moon-maiden with her train of stars
Doth shed the melting radiance of thy glance ;
Thy smile doth make a thousand woodland flowers
A thousand beaming children clap and dance.

In friendship I have caught the overtones
Of thy supernal music ; age and youth
Like night and day are choric antiphones
That thou dost chant for festival of Truth.

The whole creation throbs in rapturous pain
As on through Maya's dusk to tryst with thee
It goes, till the embodied soul doth strain
To burst upon thy unveiled majesty.

The poet strives to snare thy dream in songs,
In colours or in stone the artist burns
To utter forth thy silence, and Love longs
To catch thy accents when to Love love turns.

And all the while, O Beauty ! thou dost wait
For Life to woo and capture thee, and dare
In deeds untarnish'd to articulate
Thy soul that thou to Life alone wilt bare.

For 'tis through Life that thou thyself dost wed
To revelation of thyself, and give
The world a Christ (with thorns to crown his head)
To vanquish Ugliness thy life to live.

Sad tantalizer of the human heart,
Mad tantalizer of the heart divine,
Transcendent Beauty ! make this world a part
Of thee, till all our dreams envision thine !

THE 'GROW MORE FOOD' CAMPAIGN: SOME IMMEDIATE AND ULTIMATE PROBLEMS

BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE War has denied to India a large portion of the food stuffs which she used to import from abroad. The 'Grow More Food' Campaign has thus been necessitated by the exigencies of the War and it goes without saying that the urgency of this drive cannot be over-emphasised. But the problem cannot be solved by a few gestures by high-placed officials in digging a portion of their spacious parks; the campaign demands for its success not only a vigorous propaganda in rural areas but also a skilful handling and a clear appreciation of the difficulties involved. For, unless the campaign is conducted with sufficient tact and unless the possible difficulties are anticipated and remedies arranged for beforehand, the movement is likely to end in failure and thus bring disaster not only on our peasantry and on our agricultural economy but also on our whole population and on our whole economic structure. It is no use talking superficially about expanding agriculture even in such a big agricultural country, for the difficulties would, on analysis, appear to be more numerous and more formidable than they at first appear to be.

THE FOOD POSITION IN INDIA

Before proceeding to discuss the difficulties involved in the campaign, it is necessary to examine, briefly, the present food position in India. It is rather curious that this sub-continent is not self-sufficient with regard to her important food-grains and consequently large amounts have to be imported every year. There has been a distinct change in the character of our foreign trade in food-stuffs since the War. While the volume of export and import depended in pre-war days on the conditions of production at home and abroad and on the fundamental laws of international trade, the War has stopped that automatic adjustment which is supposed to be the basic feature of a 'free' economy and has reconditioned our food position

accordingly. The position before the outbreak of the War would be clear from the following table:—

TABLE I

(*Vide* Review of Trade—1939-40, p. 152)

(A) CONSUMPTION OF RICE IN INDIA

Year.	Production—Cleaned Rice. India proper. Tons (000)	Burma. Tons (000)	Exports. Rice. Tons (000)	Paddy. Tons (000)	Imports. Rice. Tons (000)	Paddy. Tons (000)
1936-37	27,828	4,721	235	1	1,419	121
1937-38	26,702	4,575	227	1	1,198	36
1938-39	23,915	5,360	262	3	1,282	84

(B) CONSUMPTION OF OTHER FOOD-STUFFS IN INDIA*

	Production of previous crop year. Tons (000)	Net imports (+) or net exports (−) during the year. Tons (000)	Balance available for consumption during the year Tons (000)
1937-38			
Wheat ...	9,752	−527	9,225
Jowar and Bajra ...	9,531	− 4	9,527
1938-39			
Wheat— ...	10,764	−207	10,557
Jowar and Bajra ...	9,131	− 24	9,107

[The last five years' (1934-35 to 1938-39) average balance of wheat is 96,09,600 tons; the last five years' average (1934-35 to 1938-39) balance of Jowar and Bajra is 89,04,820].

It should be observed in this connection that the position with regard to rice is perhaps just the reverse of that relating to wheat. For, while we had to depend all along on imported rice, wheat presented no such problem. Logically, therefore, we should not have so much difficulty about wheat in this new autarchy, as we may with regard to rice. Calculating on pre-war figures, we shall have, for

* Figures for wheat are taken from the *Review of Trade*, 1939-40, p. 154; Figures relating to the export of Jowar and Bajra have been taken from the *Review*, 1939-40, p 154 and *Review*, 1938-39, p. 135. Production figures for Jowar and Bajra are taken from *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops, 1939-40.*

keeping up pre-war consumption, to arrange for nearly 66,45,000 tons of rice extra (on the assumption that we cannot get a single pound of imported rice from Burma or elsewhere) less 2,82,000 tons exported, that is 63,63,000 tons or about 25% over the amount generally produced in India proper. But on pre-war figures there should be no such difficulty about wheat ; it simply demands the prohibition of export to the necessary extent. But our every day experience runs directly counter to any such conclusion. In fact, if it is possible to get rice at exorbitant prices, towns and villages in India have had to go actually without wheat, sometimes for a long period.

Cessation of Imports—not the only Cause of the Recent Deterioration in the Food Position

What is the explanation of this mystery ? Cessation or dwindling of imports because of enemy occupation and action is supposed to be the cause of this recent deterioration in the food position. But apparently this is not the case, for had it been so we would have been more troubled about rice than about wheat. Import is really one of the many factors contributing to the situation ; it is not even the most important cause in all cases. Any change in the food position may be due not only to changes in imports, but may also result from variations in the total production at home as also from variations in the volume of exports. Recent figures make it clear that both of these factors have also been in operation.

(*i*) *Production*: We take the question of production first. We find from the following table that there has been, in some cases, a decline in total production in India in the last decade :—

Table II

Total Production of Certain food Grains in the last Decade
(In Million tons)

	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938 39	1939-40
Rice	27 05	28·80	26·20	25·73	25·72	23·21	27 82	26·70	23·97	25·36
Wheat	9·30	9 02	9·45	9 37	9 72	9·43	9·75	10·76	9 96	10·75
Jowar	6·92	6·14	6·41	6·13	6·25	6·15	7·09	6·50	6·46	6·50
Bajra	2·58	2 67	2·59	2·12	2·54	2·68	2·43	1·62	2·46	2·45

The decline has been most marked in the case of rice. On examination, the cause of this decline will be found to be twofold. While the total area under rice has remained stationary during this period, the standard of cultivation has steadily declined.[1]

TABLE III

AREA UNDER RICE AND YIELD PER ACRE

	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
1. Area under rice in India (million acres)	70	72	70	70	70	71	72	73	73	73
2. Yield per acre—(lbs)	870	899	839	819	826	732	862	824	731	776

The yield per acre has declined from 870 lbs in 1930-31 to 776 lbs in 1939-40. The area has increased only slightly, thus increasing the total yield in some of the years, but such increase is not only insignificant in itself but becomes almost nothing when contrasted with the fifteen per cent. increase in population during the last decade. Wheat however has recorded increase in every direction, but the case of other food grains is not very inspiring. It is not too much to argue that if the total yield would have increased instead of decreasing during the period in question, the position to-day would have been certainly better and the necessity of growing more food not so acute as it is now.

(*ii*) *Export*:—But production, again, is not the only factor, for we have also to take account of exports. A study of recent figures reveals unmistakably that increase in the volume of exports is no less an important cause than cessation of imports or decline in production. Exports, in fact, are now being determined not by conditions of production at home, but by conditions of production abroad circumscribed by the necessities of the War so much so that one is tempted to call India a granary more for other people than for the children of the soil. The continental sources having been closed to England and her allies they have now to draw upon their own resources not only for making up the losses but also for meeting the expanding demand that a war on this scale must give rise to. It is not unexpected that a heavy

1. Figures in Tables II and III are taken from *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India*, 1939-40.

demand would be made on a vast agricultural dependency like India: Tables IV and V give an indication of the astonishingly heavy demand that has been made on India in recent years.

TABLE IV

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS

(Compiled from Capital, May 14, 1942

Imports	Twelve months, 1st April to 31st March 1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	Exports	Twelve months, 1st April to 31st March 1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
1. Food, Drink and Tobacco (Total)	352915136	238187802	278409689	1. Food Drink and Tobacco (Total)	398385414	41836186	582978436
(a) Percentage increase or decrease over last year	...	32·2%	+17	(a) Percentage increase or decrease over last year	...	+5%	+39%
2. Grains, Pulses and Flour	218054101	142435286	150202992	2. Grains, Pulses and Flour	50882988	59147931	104241143
(a) Percentage decrease over last year	...	34·2%	+4·6%	(a) Percentage increase or decrease over last year	...	+16·2%	+76·2%

It will be seen that while our imports of food-stuffs in general and grains, pulses and flour in particular have been on the whole diminishing, our exports are steadily increasing, often to a very sharp degree. If we construct something like a balance of trade in grains, pulses and flour by deducting exports from imports, the import surplus will be found diminishing from Rs. 16 crores and odd in 1939-40 to Rs. 8·4 crores in 1940-41 and to Rs. 4·5 crores in 1941-42. The rate of increase in our exports would be more clear from the table below which gives details for certain selected commodities. Variations in our exports are placed side by side with the expected variations in total production. We have used final forecasts for the current year in the case of total yield, and not the actuals of the previous crop year, just to show that even when the final forecasts have warned the authorities

of a possible fall in total yield, the authorities have not only not made any effort to check exports but have shut their eyes to its abnormal increase !

TABLE V

EXPECTED PRODUCTION AND ACTUAL IN THE LAST THREE YEARS.

(Compiled from monthly Surveys of Business conditions and Capital)

Period Twelve months from 1st April to 31st March,	RICE				WHEAT			
	Expected Production; final forecast.		Actual Export		Expected Production : Final forecast.		Actual Export.	
	Volume.	%change over last year.	Volume.	%change over last year.	Volume.	%change over last year.	Volume.	%change over last year.
	Tons (000)		Tons (000)		Tons (000)		Tons	
1939-40	25,249 (actuals for the same year 25,794)	+6%	264	...	10,767 (actuals for the same year. 10,784)	+8%	7661	...
1940-41	21,843 (actuals for the same year, 22,150)	−15%	230	−14·8%	10,005 (actuals for the same year 9927)	−7%	45935	+500%
1941-42	25,567	+15%	268 (upto Jan. 1942)	+16·5% (upto Jan. 1942)	10,043 (4th Forecast)	+1%	176131 (upto Jan. 1942)	+300% (upto Jan. 1942)

It will be seen that though production at home has shown possibilities of decline, export has continued with increased vigour. The production of wheat, for instance, was expected to fall by seven per cent. in 1940-41 (the actual fall was still greater) but export went up by *five hundred per cent!* Similarly in 1941-42, wheat production is expected to rise only by one per cent. but exports have (in ten months) increased by three hundred per cent. over last year and by more than eight hundred per cent. over 1939-40 ! This clearly shows that the authors of the 'Grow More Food' Campaign have all along been interested in an increase in the export of food-stuffs even when that increase has been totally disproportionate and not justified in present conditions. It will perhaps

be argued that this increase has substantially contributed to the large export surplus that we had in recent years. But the advantages whether of international trade in general or of any export surplus can be reaped only when the principle of comparative cost or relative advantage can function freely in a *melieu* of extensive international interchange of commodities. But that is now a thing of the past; we cannot get certain commodities from elsewhere even if their export from our country would mean relatively extra income. An export surplus has really no meaning if it has to be built up by sending away our essential food-stuffs and getting instead, say, a large number of British toilet requisites and stationery goods which could not have been produced here except at a greater cost, when such an operation would leave us actually starving. It is the same old story of King Midas with his useless gold. But, unfortunately, the Government is, if it is not consciously perverse, at best playing the role of Midas when it allows such a state of affairs to continue unchecked The story propagated by the Government through its *communiqués* and spokesmen is that there has been no export of wheat except to feed Indian troops overseas (the recent shipload to Iran was said to be an exception). But the extent of increase gives lie direct to such a story even when it comes from high quarters. It is extremely significant that such increase has taken place in a period when the united nations had obvious difficulty in securing the necessary quantity of wheat. U.S.A. production fell in 1939 by 42,88,000 tons from the 1938 level, while the years 1941 and 1942 (forecast) record successive drops of 21,47,000 tons and 10,82,000 tons respectively, so much so that the total yield has declined from 24.9 million tons in 1938 to 16.8 million tons in 1942 (forecast).[1] Add to this supplies, now lost, from Russia and other European countries, and it will not require any flight of imagination to notice the correlation between recent developments here and those abroad, inspite of the mystery shrouding war time statistics. We therefore see that *the necessity for growing more food is not due to the cessation of imports only; declining production and increased export are also factors of no less importance. The question of growing more food, therefore, does not end with the peasant alone; it also demands a radical change in government policy.*

[1] For 1939 figures, see *Estimates of Area & Yield of Principal Crops in India, 1939-40.* For 1941 & 1942 see *Capital*, January 25, 1942.

The Difficulties Involved

In a recent broadcast (June 22, 1942) the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker laid emphasis on the fact that India has several advantages over other countries and specially England in this respect. It may be true that India is in a relatively better position when compared to England, but it will not be of much satisfaction if the food position becomes worse by her own standards specially when her population is already on subsistence diet and when such a deterioration can, in Hon'ble Mr. Sarker's words, be prevented "with a little more exertion and organisation." It is also true that we shall not have to face the difficulties England had to encounter in solving her food problem. But that is again no reason why our difficulties, though of a different nature, will be easy of solution, more so if there is nothing better than a *little* more exertion on the part of all concerned. In fact, the campaign involves a threefold problem. There are, in the first place, the physical and technical limitations which must be obviated before any considerable extension is possible. Secondly, there are those difficulties which are due to the defects and perversities in government policy regarding agriculture import, export and so on. Thirdly, we shall have also to face the wider problems affecting the entire structure of our international trade and our national economy which such a situation gives rise to. For, the situation, economically, is, in the ultimate analysis, nothing but a new autarchy forced upon us by the pressure of events but hampered by its haphazard nature and disturbed at the same time by the imperious demands of exacting imperialism. Nevertheless the problems of an *autarkia* are still there with all their effects on the entire economic structure of the country, penetrating and changing it in a slow but non-intermittent manner.

1 Physical and Technical Limitations

As indicated above, any expansion of the area under food crops is subject to certain physical and technical limitations. In England there is a serious difficulty in any scheme of extending the area under food crops for that means less fodder and ultimately perhaps less live-stock. There is fortunately no such difficulty here and necessary expansion conducted on scientific lines would be a boon rather than a problem. Yet any such expansion depends on three pre-requisites.

There should be, in the first place, every effort to increase the area under food crops. But there should also be, in the second place, proper arrangements for irrigation, seeds and manure, while; thirdly, technical improvements in the shape of increased yield, double cropping, etc., must be applied to the fullest possible extent.

Needless to say, each one of these presents a formidable problem. It is comparatively easy to tackle the second and third factors, for they depend more on Government initiative and energy, but the first is a directly physical limitation which cannot be overcome except through years of sustained effort. Judging the possibility of extension in the light of possible demand we find that the task is not an impossible one but certainly gigantic. The agricultural position in British India stood thus in 1939-40[1]:—

TABLE VI

	Total area cropped	Area under food grains	Total area under food crops	Total area under non-food crops	Fodder (included under non-food crops)
Acres (000)	2,44,575	1,87,050	1,97,451	47,124	10,467
Percentage to total area cropped—	100%	76.4%	80.7%	19.2%	6.6%

As we have indicated earlier, our home consumption of rice requires nearly 65,00,000 tons more than what is now produced in India. Wheat is a more complicated question. The pre-war figures indicate that the balance normally required to meet home consumption is nearly 1,00,00,000 tons. The fourth forecast for the year 1941-42 indicates that total production is likely to be 1,00,43,000 tons. This means that we shall not have much of a real surplus which can be exported without difficulty. But it should also be remembered in this connection that our export of wheat has recorded phenomenal increase in the last two years, the total volume exported amounting to 45,935 tons (increase, 500 per cent.) in 1940-41, and to 1,76,131 tons (increase 300 per cent. over last years) in the first ten months of 1941-42. If export continues in this scale (chances are, it would be on a still greater scale !), that would mean that we shall have to produce more than 1,50,000 tons of wheat extra. It is not necessary to examine in detail

[1] *Vide Agricultural Statistics (British India)*, 1939-40. Food grains include rice, wheat, barley, jowar, bajra, maize, ragi, gram and other food grains and pulses. Food crops include all the above grains *plus* sugar and other food crops such as condiments, spices, etc.

the case of other foodstuffs such as jowar and bajra for they do not occupy any very important place in the schedule of our exports. It should be therefore sufficient, *other things remaining the same*, if we can produce 65,00,000 tons of rice and 1,50,000 tons of wheat *over and above the total amount of all food grains produced now.*

The question therefore is: taking India as a whole, would it be possible to have so much of extra land as to enable us to produce this extra amount? On the assumption that Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Assam would be mainly utilised for extension of rice cultivation (they together contribute nearly 75 per cent. of total rice production in British India, Bengal contributing 33.3 per cent., Bihar 12.5 per cent., Madras 16.6 per cent., Orissa 4 per cent. and Assam 4.1 per cent.), while wheat-growers will have to concentrate mainly on the United Provinces and the Punjab (U. P. produces nearly 37.5 per cent. of total wheat and the Punjab 41.5 per cent.), the position may be very roughly expected to be something like this [1]:—

TABLE VII

POSSIBLE INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTION OF FOOD-STUFFS

	Rice				Wheat		
	Bengal	Bihar	Orissa	Assam	Madras	U. P.	Punjab
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
1. Current Fallow	47,42,823	67,78,600	16,80,666	14,12,955	97,81,176	24,79,406	49,84,782
	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons
2. Production at *normal*[2] yield on current fallows	22,06,260	22,39,359	5,56,701	5,84,106	49,06,054	9,66,190	16,91,248

We leave other provinces to grow more of other food grains besides wheat and rice. It will thus be seen that in the ideal conditions as envisaged above, the above provinces will be able to

[1] There are certain unavoidable statistical difficulties in the construction of such a table. Figures for current fallows are taken from *Agricultural Statistics* (British India) 1939-40 (DGCIS-255), published after July, 1941. But though these are the latest available figures, yet they relate to 1939-40 and not to the crop year 1941-42 or 1942-43, which they should. Still they have been used and they conform to the general pattern and show no abnormal variations. Such figures, therefore, should not be taken as absolutely accurate but must serve only as broad indications of possible trends.

[2] *The Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India*, 1939-40, gives the normal average yield per acre as follows:—*Rice*—Bengal, 1042 lb; Bihar 740 lb; Orissa 742 lb; Assam 926 lb; Madras 1124 lb. Wheat:—Punjab 760 lb; U. P. 900 lb (p. 12). The averages are simple numerical averages of the different yields of different crops.

produce more than the necessary amount of wheat and rice, provided that exports and other factors have no serious disturbing effects. But, unfortunately, ideal conditions seldom exist in the real world. If we take account of the actual difficulties, we would find that the task is not so easy as it seems to be. It may be mentioned in the first place that the *normal* average yield, on the basis of which the total possible increase has been calculated, has never occurred in actual practice, and if we correct the figures for the average of *actual* yield for the last ten years,[1] the figures for rice and wheat are at once reduced by 8,82,920 tons and 1,10,793 tons respectively. The total increase, again, has been calculated on the assumption that *all* current fallows in the above-mentioned provinces are brought under cultivation. Needless to say, this in itself is a herculean task and cannot be achieved overnight, either by soothing words or by the big stick. Current fallows, in fact, generally constitute one-third to one-fifth of the net area actually sown, and to increase suddenly the area actually sown by no less than twenty to thirty-three per cent. is no easy job. It is yet to be seen how the government can make up past neglect and usher in all of a sudden—a new era of rapid agricultural development. And all this of course rests on the presumption that there is the requisite amount of seeds and manure *and a good monsoon*, for the total area irrigated in this country is miserably small, constituting not more than 10.7 per cent. of total area and 22.5 per cent. of the total cropped area. The authors of the scheme and its critics are perhaps equally blank about its future if there be no good monsoon this year; the accumulated sins of the government are nowhere more clearly reflected than in this almost total absence of proper irrigation facilities. It is, in fact, unsafe to depend in these circumstances, purely on ordinary methods of cultivation. It would add to the safety of India if really vigorous efforts are made for having improved methods of agriculture, this offseting to some extent the declining yield per acre and other possible difficulties, if it cannot actually produce a good margin.

The Need of a New Policy

We have already emphasised that the present policy of the government regarding our agriculture, import and export is not

[1] For actual yield, see *Estimates*, pp. 9 to 11.

conducive to the success of the campaign and a thorough change in government policy is absolutely necessary before we can expect satisfactory results. It now remains to analyze more fully the directions in which such a change is necessary. We have already commented on the external aspect of the problem where it resolves into the export policy and we need not dilate upon it further. It is only necessary to remember that we have as yet found no signs of a change. Geographic vicinity of India to the battle-fronts in the Middle East and the Far East makes the danger very real that India will have to bear a much heavier burden than is warranted by conditions of world production. Moreover, other countries such as Canada and the U.S.A. have to think more of industrial expansion than of agricultural extension. But these are precisely the reasons why a change of policy is most urgently needed in India at this particular moment. Any failure to readjust our export trade to the new conditions would only mean that interests of other countries are placed above our own by our Government—a scheme of values that does not fit well with this drive for growing more food.

Present conditions also demand, internally, a three-fold change. It has, firstly, become necessary for the Government to indicate clearly its policy in this respect as also to lay open the plans for meeting possible eventualities. The cultivators in India can have legitimate suspicion about the professed present and future benefits of the scheme and will not be roused to necessary effort if they are not sure that the benefit will go to them and not reaped by anybody else. The possibility of an over-abundant supply as a result of growing more food and the consequential slump in agricultural prices constitute one sore point which demands early clarification and the assurance that the Government would buy up such surplus stocks if there be any, is certainly a step in the right direction. But to the poor peasants the present is more important than the future and a courageous handling of present difficulties would undoubtedly be a greater stimulus to action than assurance about the future. The cultivator, for instance, has received no benefit from the recent rise in the price of food-stuffs (the Government index of the wholesale price of rice has increased by 51 per cent. over the pre-war average and that of pulses by 30 per cent.) ; local enquiries have clearly shown that the benefit has been reaped solely by the middle-men, though it is to the hardworking poor cultivators that the Government is directing their

propaganda. It is thus essential for the success of the scheme that the cultivators, and not others, should profit; if we allow the cultivators to be exploited in the time-worn fashion, we would not only be accused of violating social justice in the present circumstances, but may also bring disaster to the scheme itself by neglecting to lay down the first pre-requisite of success.

So much for the growers. There are, however, certain other problems facing the consumers which are not less urgent than those discussed above. To begin with, it is not enough to prevent shortage in India as a whole, for there might well be regional difficulties in the absence of proper transport arrangements. There has recently been acute shortage of food-stuffs in different places all over India inspite of the fact that several provinces (*e.g.*, Orissa) had surplus stocks to spare. It may be mentioned in this connection that the number of railway wagons loaded with grains and pulses have shown remarkable decline in recent days, as would be evident from the following table[1] :—

TABLE VIII

WAGONS LOADED WITH GRAINS AND PULSES: BROAD AND METRE GAUGES, CLASS I RAILWAYS

April to March, 1940-41.	April to March, 1941-42.	Increase or decrease in 1941-42.	1st April to 10th May, 1941.	1st April to 10th May, 1942.	Increase or decrease in 1942.
732, 870	722, 400	—1·43%	91, 135	72, 797	—20·1%

This is not the occasion to discuss whether the heavy decline in recent months is due to a genuine shortage of wagons, but the heavy decline is nevertheless a fact. Such a heavy decline, continuing for a long period, can result only in serious regional difficulties. If our duty does not end with growing more food only but also extends to its proper distribution, attention should be given from now to secure proper transport arrangements.

Lastly, the question of growing more food is, in the internal sphere, inseparately linked up with the question of price-fixation. Price-fixation in such a context must have two aims in view. The problem involves at one and the same time; the question of

[1] *Vide Capital*, April 30 1942 and June 4, 1942.

minimum price as also that of maximum price. We have already emphasised on the need of controlling the middle men so that there may not be any unnecessary rise in prices. Yet there are other factors besides the middlemen which must lead to high prices, not always without economic justification. It is therefore essential that the Government should not only arrange for the growth of a larger quantity of food-stuffs but must also enable the consumers to have them at reasonable price. Statutory regulations can undoubtedly stop speculative rises, but real economic maladies will require deeper treatment It will not be possible, for instance, to check any rise in spite of fixed maximum prices if there be no stock in the locality concerned. Price control again depends ultimately on the ability of the consumers to pay, that is, on the amount of purchasing power that has flown into their hands. In the broadcast referred to above, The Hon'ble Mr. Sarker argued that the gathering momentum of our war effort implies more wages paid out and this in its turn "must lead to an increasing demand for our available food-stuffs." It is not possible to discuss here the merits of the argument,[1] but suffice it to say that the argument, though sound in theory, perhaps rests on faulty foundations in as much as the majority of our population still seem to suffer from an insufficiency of purchasing power rather than from its abundance. In any case, both the extremes should be avoided for both of them have, economically, disturbing effects on the present campaign. It is of course not possible to undertake on this occasion the far bigger task of equalising large inequalities in income, but that is no reason why attempts should not be made on a much less ambitious scale to apply local palliatives and temporary correctives where the problem becomes very acute.

A New Autarkia

We have discussed above some of the immediate problems involved in the 'Grow More Food' Campaign. But there is also another bigger problem which though not of an immediate nature nevertheless demands serious attention. Normally, a campaign for growing more food is one aspect of the ideal of economic autarchy ; in peace time such a drive almost certainly belongs to the *melien* of economic

[1] *Vide* my article 'A Wrong Economic Policy' in *Current Thought*, April, 1942, for the discussion of this topic.

self-sufficiency within national boundaries. But as we have already indicated, our campaign for growing more food is not, in spite of certain obvious similarities, an autarchy proper. It has only been forced upon us, but it does not proceed from that peculiar psychosocial condition in which alone an autarchy has been found to thrive. A complete autarchy is impossible here, at least immediately, for two reasons. It is not possible, firstly, for the simple reason that such a swift change-over is not-possible—and in fact not also desirable—and secondly for the reason that India must be exploited by her master as a raw-material producing country. Nevertheless the new situation has given rise to certain problems of an autarchy. The campaign must have as its counter-part a falling off in our foreign trade (though causality is reversed here, the present drive being the effect rather than the cause of changes in our foreign trade) and would ultimately affect our national finances and National Dividend. The decline of foreign trade is in itself a factor contributing to the diminution of the National Dividend ; the preponderence of customs in our national revenues is again another reason why any decline in foreign trade may ultimately mean extra-taxation. The present atmosphere is no doubt vitiated by war conditions. Yet these wider implications form an essential part of the general policy of war finance and cannot be neglected by any prudent administrator. If we have to make a long-term plan for financing the war—as we have to do in such long-drawn conflicts of so great intensity and extensity—it is not sufficient to carry on somehow grabbing unthinkingly at all possible sources of finance, but it is also essential to spare the nationals every unnecessary burden and thus conserve their energy for a longer and a more sustained effort. From this viewpoint, therefore, the present campaign has its broader implications. It must ultimately affect the National Dividend through its effects on foreign trade, foreign exchange, internal debt and taxation and thus cannot really be shelved aside as a theoretic digression to be discussed leisurely in more peaceful times.

Summary and Conclusion

The 'Grow More Food' Campaign, therefore, has quite a large number of difficulties, in fact many more than are apparent to the superficial observer. A vast country and a huge population do not, in themselves, constitute any guarantee of success ; they merely indicate

that we can start with greater initial advantages than has been the lot of many other countries in the world. But our problems too are of the same magnitude as our country. As we have seen, the campaign is not an impossible proposition, specially when we enjoy some initial advantage which have been denied to others. But we have also seen that the campaign demands for its success firstly a much deeper understanding of the immediate and ultimate problems involved than has hitherto been evidenced in many facile utterances even from responsible quarters and secondly a radical change in Government policy. Time has certainly come when real intentions and professed policy should not diverge. India may escape with comparatively less privations if the authorities concerned make a really honest effort not only to grow more food but also to send away less and counteract internal dislocations.

Round the World

Russia's Holding Power

Maurice Hindus made his name as an author on Soviet Russia by his Humanity Uprooted, which was published nearly fifteen years ago. Since then he has written several other books giving vivid pictures of Russian life and activities in the new regime. Recently Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, published his book entitled *Russia and Japan*. In this work Mr. Hindus tells us that even if Japan attacks the Soviet Union and Stalin is required to fight on two fronts, it is unlikely that the Soviet structure will collapse. Japan may push the Soviet forces west of Lake Baikal and Germany may cross the line of the Volga and advance towards the Urals. But still, Mr. Hindus assures us. Russia will not be lost. But William Henry Chamberlain in reviewing this book in the *New York Times* invites our attention to the fact that in one respect Russia is more vulnerable in 1942 than either in 1812 or even in 1914-17. She is now dependent upon oil as much for the conduct of the military operations as for agriculture. And eighty-five per cent. of this oil comes from the Caucasus.

An American on British Public Schools

Last month we drew the attention of our readers to the Public Schools in England which would admit henceforward a number of boys from lower middle and working classes. In this connection we also discussed the basic principles of the organisation of these schools. Since we wrote, we have come across an extensive review, in the Educational Supplement of the Times, of an exhaustive treatise in two volumes on the British Public Schools by an American author, Dr. Edward C. Mack. He has traced the growth of these famous institutions both historically as well as sociologically. He has passed a very severe but not an unexpected judgment upon the working of these schools in the present century. From time to time since their first inception, these institutions underwent changes in their organisation and in the curriculum of studies so as to keep in touch with social and economic changes in the country. But in the twentieth century they have become absolutely unrelated to the changes which have been wrought on the social and political life of the country and the world as well as on the general outlook of the people. "Whether for good or ill, the modern public school has failed to align itself with the progressive forces of the twentieth century as signally as the Victorian school succeeded in attuning itself to those of the nineteenth." The author even goes to the length to point out that simply because these schools in which the leaders of English public life are nurtured have become so out of touch with the realities of life that there was such bankruptcy in British statesmanship during the twenty years between the two wars. "The upper classes and the public schools," he concludes, "having failed to create a better world, seemed also to have lost the power or the will to save this one."

New Education

The Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker made a statement on his relinquishing the educational portfolio. He referred therein to the existing educational arrangements in the country and to the necessity of their being overhauled and remodelled. He observes that the education now received in the schools and universities of India has not proved as productive as it should be. Arrangements for education should be in harmony with the economic and cultural needs of the country. As, however, such harmony hardly exists at the present time, Mr. Sarker tells us that a machinery has been created under the Government of India to study the question in all its bearings and frame a scheme for re-organising both school and university education on a new basis. The scheme, when it is framed, will be placed before educational experts in the country and it will go into effect in the form in which it becomes acceptable to them. We welcome the step which has been taken by the Department of Education under the leadership of Mr. Sarker. Educational ideas and the structure which may embody them cannot be static. They have to change with the change of social ideals, and economic conditions. They must be in keeping with new environments. In another paragraph we refer to the observations of an American writer on the British Public Schools. Simply because they could not keep pace with changing times, they became the nurseries of narrow-minded and short-sighted leaders with disastrous consequences. In fact there should be a thorough and systematic stock-taking with regard to educational principles and methods every now and then. Without it there is very risk of education being out of tune with social needs. From this standpoint we welcome the statement of Mr. Sarker.

India in American Picture

A Reuter's message from New York tells us that there is an increasing interest in India in the United States. Both in books and in the newspapers and periodicals there has been of late more and more of discussion about this country and its problems. Not that all of these discussions are helpful to Indian aspirations. But the very fact that the people of the United States have been awakened to the problem of India is itself a happy sign. Not long ago there was very little of reference in the American newspapers to India. Only when Gandhiji would fast or a yogi would perform some antics, the daily press of the U. S. A. would think it worthwhile to devote a few lines to this country. The new turn in the present war has, it seems, sloughed off this indifference. This by itself, we may repeat, is a gain. It may also be pointed out that the News Agencies have so far wired to India the views about our political aspirations of only one group of American journals. They have been mostly silent as to the observations of the Hearst group and of newspapers like the Chicago Tribune. *The New York Times* has been quoted rather too often. But it is a journal which by its origin and affiliation is required to support all British interests and cannot on this account have even an open mind with regard to Indian problems.

Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai's Work in U. S. A.

The same Reuter's message which has been referred to in the previous paragraph says that Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, the Indian Minister at

Washington, is trying to establish contact with different American bodies. None will dispute the fact that he is a cultured man with a lovable personality. But nurtured in the traditions of the Indian Civil Service, he is unlikely to present India to an American audience as a nationalist Indian would want him to do. The guardians of British interests in the United States are particularly sensitive with regard to anything said about India. In view of this any true presentation of Indian points of view in that country is always difficult and it is inevitable that it will be still more difficult for a person who had served the Government of India as an official for years together. We may even say that at the present time when the question of Indian political aspirations is so much in the foreground, the presence at Washington of Lord Halifax under whom Sir Girja had served at New Delhi for five years makes it impossible for him to be of much service to the Indian cause in the new world. Two months ago, it was reported, for instance, that Indians had been discouraged by British authorities from participating in an adequate manner in the celebration at New York of the United Nations Day. Sir Girja Shanker was not reported to have withstood this discouragement and brought India adequately into the American public view. The guardians of British imperialism would, of course, try to discourage adequate Indian participation in such celebrations on the same ground on which they did not allow the Indian Government to be separately and fittingly represented in the World Fair in the city of New York in 1939. The ground is that they do not want India to come into the world picture. But if an independent public man was the Indian Minister at Washington, he might have possibly played his cards more efficiently in Indian interests.

American Negro Soldiers in North Ireland

A Reuter's message from Belfast refers to the arrival in Northern Ireland of American coloured troops. It emphasises in this connection two facts. First, these troops, though fully armed, will have the duties and functions of pioneer units in the British Army. In other words they will be required not so much to fight as to maintain and construct military establishments. Secondly, they are officered, except in non-commissioned positions, by white Americans. We do not know why this message was so carefully sent out to this country by Reuter. It is unfortunate that it may convey a very misleading impression about the fighting capacity of the Negroes It should be known that during the American Civil War the Union Government had one hundred and seventy thousand black soldiers in its army. In the last war three hundred and eighty thousand of the American Negroes fought as soldiers on the allied side. It has also been established that some of the best troops on this side were the Negroes from the United States. Reference may be made in this connection to the 15th infantry from Harlem which "stayed longer under fire than any regiment, yielded no prisoners, gave no ground, suffered casualties of forty per cent..."

The message also opens an window through which we may peep into white-coloured relations in the United States. These relations, though no longer as bad as they happened to be in the past, are bad enough still. We need not refer in this connection to the atrocious policy of segregation which is pursued against the Negroes not only in the South but also in some of the northern towns. We need not also refer to the invidious distinction which is made by the Governments in regard to educational

and other facilities against the black population. But Wendell Willkie himself referred recently at a dinner meeting to a rule still prevailing in the American Navy. It was to the effect that Negroes were excluded from the service except as "messmen." Mr. Willkie had the good sense to observe that such a rule is "an injustice which makes a mockery of all our fine words." It should also be emphasised that although war has been on and there has been shortage of skilled labour, the Negroes are still unwelcome in many war industries. The efforts of President Roosevelt to do away with this foolish discrimination have been largely neutralised by the prejudice of owners and managers of these industries.

Race prejudice breaks out not infrequently in other ways also. Sometime ago an instance of it was provided in a road at Detroit. Under the Federal Housing Project a number of flats called Sojourner Truth Homes was built. These homes were meant for the Negroes but unfortunately they were located in that part of the road where the black people were not allowed by custom to reside. Accordingly when the Negroes were trying to move into these homes, the white women constituted themselves into a barricade and a scuffle ensued. The police intervened, arrested some people and finally decided to avoid further riots by shutting out the Negroes from these homes. No wonder that a young negro observed that it was more appropriate to fight for democracy in the streets of Detroit than elsewhere.

Soviet Fatherland

Last year after Germany invaded the Soviet Union and made some conquests, Stalin made a stirring appeal to the people of the U. S. S. R. for the defence of the fatherland. Since then some other appeals have also been made on behalf of the fatherland. These have created some misunderstanding in the mind of many people regarding the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards national patriotism. The appeals have convinced these people that the Russian communists no longer think in terms of the international and that they have become as good national patriots as those who are defending Britain. This is, however, only a misunderstanding. It should be known that the Soviet Union is inhabited by people of one hundred and eighty-five different nationalities, speaking as many as one hundred and forty-seven languages. The strongest of these nationalities is the Russian which accounts for fifty-three per cent. of the total population. During the czarist regime these Russians dominated the other groups of people in the empire. But the Bolshevik Revolution did away with this domination of other nationalities by the Russians, and introduced a system under which all nationalities and languages were not only to be tolerated but to be given every opportunity and encouragement for development. But this toleration and even stimulation of different nationalities must not be misunderstood. Nationality which is encouraged in the Soviet Union is entirely a cultural affair. Nationalism elsewhere "puts national interests first and foremost." But the toleration of nationality in the Soviet Union only means that the linguistic and cultural differences of peoples are respected. But while the policy of the Soviet Government is to encourage different cultures and languages, it at the same time fills these different national forms "with a supranational proletarian civilisation which aims to train the masses in the spirit of internationalism." What then is this fatherland in whose name Stalin and others have issued appeals? The following quotation

from Professor Hans Kohn's Revolutions and Dictatorships (1939) may provide the answer.

"The Soviet government certainly does not oppose Soviet patriotism or a love of the workers' fatherland. This patriotism should not be confused with nationalism. It resembles it in many outward forms; it differs fundamentally in content. Soviet patriotism is certainly not modern nationalism. It is love of the soil and of the landscape which is familiar to man by the work of his life, love of the language which he talks to the persons he loves and in which he receives the treasures of human civilization, love of the successes which he and his fellow workers have achieved by the hard toil of hand and brain in the building up of socialism. But it is not a Russian patriotism, not the nationalistic love of the Russian fatherland or of the country of another political nation. It is love of a land, of a civilization, and of achievements common to the workers of all races and national groups who are united in the common task of building socialism. Uncompromising and intolerant loyalty of all Soviet citizens is as certainly demanded and as firmly insisted upon as in any nationalistic state. But it is not supreme loyalty to a nation or to the nation-state, but to the Land of the Soviets, which in its present form is considered only a step toward uniting the workers of the whole world into a Socialist World Republic."

Hindu Women's Rights to Property

Until 1937 a Hindu widow had only the right of maintenance from the proceeds of the property of her deceased husband. If the son of a property-owner pre-deceased him, his widow also had the same right. This was a position of Hindu widows, to which the reformers were not reconciled. They had demanded for years an improvement in their status. At last in 1937 the Central Legislature passed an Act, called the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act (Act XVIII of 1937). In the following year it was amended by Act XI of 1938. These enactments conferred upon the widow of a deceased proprietor a life-interest in the same share of the property as might be claimed by any one of the sons. The same right was also conferred upon a widowed daughter-in-law, whose husband had pre-deceased the proprietor.

The right conferred upon the Hindu widows by the Acts referred to above applied as much to agricultural as to non-agricultural property. Unfortunately under the Government of India Act, 1935 (seventh schedule, list II, Nos. 21, 43 etc.), succession to agricultural property was included within exclusive jurisdiction of the provincial legislature. Any Act passed by the Central Legislature in respect of this subject was, therefore, to be regarded as *ultra vires* Actually the Governor-General referred the two enactments of 1937 and 1938 to the Federal Court under Section 213 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In April, 1941, the Federal Court decided that these enactments were inoperative in the provinces so far as they regulated succession to agricultural property. But the Court also laid down that simply because they were inoperative in this specific aspect, they were not invalid otherwise. In other words by the Acts of 1937 and 38, Hindu widows would have their status improved in respect of non-agricultural property. But unless the provincial legislatures moved in the matter, their succession to agricultural property was out of the question.

Meanwhile several other bills were introduced in the Central Legislature by non-official members by way of improving further the status of women. The Government of India, unable to make up its mind in respect of these projects, appointed in January, 1941 the Hindu Law Committee, to be presided over by Sir B. N. Rau. This Committee submitted its Report after six months of investigation and discussion. It saw danger in piecemeal legislation effecting fundamental changes in Hindu law, the different aspects of which are so inter-connected as to make change in one aspect inconsistent with the maintenance of the existing position in another. "The better plan would be to leave the Acts to their operation for the present and to replace them as early as possible by comprehensive law on the subject of succession, enacted at leisure and embodying solutions on which there is a substantial measure of agreement." This was the observation of the Committee, which, however, appreciated the injustice which would be done to the Hindu widows, if the Acts of 1937 and 1938 were left, as they were, after the decision of the Federal Court. It thought that if no fundamental changes were effected in Hindu law at present, it would be good for the different Governor's provinces to enact laws by way of restoring to the Hindu widows the right of succession to agricultural property, which the Acts of 1937-38 had conferred upon them but which was nullified by the decision of the Federal Court. The Committee accordingly framed a draft bill to this end.

It is now reported that the Government of Bihar has taken the initiative in adopting the draft bill of the Rau Committee. Under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, the Legislature has been suspended in this province. All legislative powers are consequently vested in the Governor and it is this functionary who has enacted the necessary measure by way of restoring to Hindu widows the right of succession to agricultural property. It is expected that other provinces will follow suit. It should also be mentioned that by way of effecting comprehsnsive changes in Hindu Law two bills, one on succession and the other on marriage, have been circularised by the Government of India for eliciting public opinion in regard to their provisions.

Select Committees

The new Secondary Education Bill was referred by the Bengal Legislative Assembly in its last session to a Select Committee. It was to work under the chairmanship of the Minister in charge. Unfortunately he happens to be a member of the Upper House and on this ground objection was taken to his presiding over the deliberations of the Committee. This objection is reported to have been upheld by the Law officers of the Government. In fact the Procedure Rules of both the houses are clear on this that the Minister in charge will act as Chairman of a Select Committee provided he is a member of the House by which the Committee is constituted. Otherwise a member of the Committee will be chosen to become the Chairman. We believe that this Select Committee procedure may be more improved. The Committee instead of being constituted by one House may be a joint Committee, some of the members being taken from one Chamber and some from the other. This procedure has been adopted in Great Britain on extraordinary occasions but in Sweden it is normal. It will not only make the Select Committee more representative but, what is more, it will make the passage of a bill through the Upper House more smooth and rapid. At present a bill, which after being considered by the Select Committee is passed by the Assembly, may have to go through the same stages in

the Upper House. It is true that the motions in the Upper House for referring the bill to a Select Committee or to a Committee of the whole House are, as a rule, turned down and the bill is passed very rapidly. But all the same the danger of delay and repetition of work is there. This may be avoided by the adoption of the procedure of Joint Committees. Secondly, the Select Committee should, as a normal rule, summon witnesses representing different interests to appear before it and submit their opinion on one or another aspect of the bill. At present when a bill is circularised, the members of the public have an opportunity of expressing their views upon it. The Select Committee also does offer this opportunity but only on rare occasions. In the United States the Legislative Committees, as a rule, call witnesses to appear before them and decide upon the issues referred to them only after listening to the opinions of these witnesses and after examining them at close quarters. If different interests, important public bodies and a few experts are summoned and their views obtained, the work of the Select Committees here may certainly become more efficient than it is now. It may be added that one or two legal and judicial experts may also be called upon to appear before the Committee to submit their opinion on the drafting of the clauses. Drafting defects in Acts passed in recent years by the Legislature have been found by experience to be as serious as they are frequent. These defects may certainly be avoided by such efforts.

Indian States

In a recent issue of the *Harijan* Gandhiji referred to the Indian States and their Princes. He wanted them to share their political and administrative power with their people. In fact he wanted them less to look above to the British Government and more to the people below for inspiration and guidance. The Indian States Committee which was presided over by the late Sir Harcourt Butler calculated the number of Indian States to be 562. They were divided into three classes—(1) the States, the rulers of which mere members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right, (*ii*) the States, the rulers of which were represented in the Chamber by twelve members of their Order elected by themselves, and (*iii*) the Estates, Jagirs and others. The number of States of the first category is 108, that of the second 127 and that of the third 327. The States widely vary in size, population, financial resources and political power. The biggest of them has an area of 82,700 square miles, a population of 1,25,00,000 and a revenue of Rs. 6,50,00,000 while the smallest of them are holdings of a few acres only with an annual income hardly exceeding that "of an ordinary artisan." The Memoranda on the Indian States published by the Government of India in 1934 give some details as to the resources and administrative organisation of the different States. But very few of these Memoranda actually refer to the association of the people with the government of the State. In fact at that time only in about half a dozen of the Indian States representative institutions worth the name were introduced. Since then there may have been some improvement in this position in few other States but autocracy and that too of a not very benevolent type, remains the rule in Indian India. After the first Round Table Conference the late Maharaja of Patiala even described democracy as the shirt of Nessus of which the Indian Princes should beware. At that time totalitarianism had become fashionable in influential circles in Great Britain and evidently the late Maharaja did not displease any of his British friends by describing

democracy as he did. But now we are fighting for the preservation of democracy and the Indian Princes who are so sincerely and enthusiastically supporting the democratic cause abroad should think of it more at home.

What will they do with Malaya, the Netherlands, East Indies etc.?

The Indian nationalists have been of the view that the territories which the British and other white Powers have now lost in the Far East should be declared independent if and when they are delievered out of the hands of Japan. But this does not appear to be the standpoint of the imperialists in Great Britain. Nor does it appear to agree with the point of view of many of the Americans. In the April issue of the *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Nathaniel Peffer who happens to be an Associate Professor of International Affairs in the Columbia University, New York, published his views in respect of this matter. He is not very definite as to what status Burma should enjoy when it is reconquered by the allied forces. Its fate is according to him linked with that of India whose position he does not discuss. As for Malaya he has definite opinions. The people here have no political consciousness and are of "almost no economic capacity or interest in the modern sense of the word." Besides, "Malaya is the greatest rubber- and tin-producing area in the world and as such is of crucial importance to the western nations. It is one of the economic prizes of the world." Therefore "it must be returned to British rule." He would, however, insist on one qualification, "...a larger share of the wealth produced there should be turned back into education for the natives, that social services of all kinds should be expanded, and that the peasant and worker should be guarded against exploitation." He wants in other words that while British imperialism should be restored to Malaya, it must be henceforward more benevolent. As for the Netherlands East Indies, he thinks, their restitution to the Netherlands "is the only practical course to follow after the war." "There is not yet in the islands, which constitute the colony," he observes, "either a sufficiently stout nationalism or a social order which makes independence necessary, feasible or desirable." So the Malayas and the Netherlands East Indies must return to *status quo ante bellum*.

Daily Worker

After the Anglo-Russian Alliance was signed in June last, the policy of the British Government was expected to change in respect of the treatment of the Communists and their newspapers. In India the reaction appeared to be favourable. Many of the Communist prisoners were released and the ban on their journals removed. It was confidently hoped that the policy the Government pursued in India in this connection would be repeated in Great Britian as well. But the Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, made a definite rejoinder to a question put to him in the House of Commons in regard to the ban on the *Daily Worker*. He would not remove it. Further pressed in a supplementary question, he pointed out that it was expediency which ruled the Government policy. It dictated the removal of the ban in India but it dictated its continuance in Britain. It was Lord Palmerston who was described as being liberal abroad and conservative at home. While he was giving vigorous support to the liberal movements in the continent, he made himself a steady barrier

against any reform in his own country. His Majesty's present Government also seems to be walking in the foot-steps of Lord Palmerston. In regard to India British policy has been all along too cautious and too conservative. It may, therefore, lead to a good deal of heart-searching that in respect of Communists the table has been turned.

Causes of the Fall of Malaya

A writer in the April-June Number of the *Political Quarterly* discusses the reasons for the rapid fall of Malaya into Japanese hands. The first and foremost of them is, according to him, the pathetic complacency of the Government as to the preparedness of these British territories for meeting an invasion. Mr. Duff Cooper observed in a press statement in September, 1941 that "had the democracies in Western Europe been as well prepared in 1939 as they were in the Far East in 1941, the war need never have broken out." The second reason is to be found in the inefficiency and inapititude of the Civil Service, particularly in its higher ranks. In those fields where administration shades into policy, the Civil Service found itself absolutely unequal to the demands of the time. The senior officers accustomed to the old happy-go-lucky times which were past were completely at sea when the situation called for new initiative. They had lost the power of thinking and reacting to new circumstances and meeting them appositely with promptitude and vigour. The third cause consisted in the inadequate co-operation of the Asiatic population. This in its turn was the result of the treatment which had been meted out to them during all the previous years by the white settlers as well as the Government. Neither in the Government service nor in the plantations and commercial firms the Asiatics were admitted to responsible positions. "A Chinese might become (and frequently became) a millionaire merchant, or a multi-millionaire tin magnate; he might become a successful professional man; but his chances of rising to a responsible position in a European-controlled enterprise or in Government service were virtually non-existent....Nor was there any suggestion that the European community would adopt a different attitude in the future." In fact to a white merchant or planter or Government officer in Malaya all Asiatics were niggers whose acquaintance itself was to be discouraged. In this respect the attitude of the Australians towards Asiatics "was, if anything, worse than that of the British." The fourth and the last cause of the Malayan debacle consisted in the poor spirit of sacrifice which the European settlers showed in fiscal matters. They were unwilling to take any fiscal burden upon their shoulders. They had, for instance, resisted with success the levy of any direct taxes right up to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. Complacency, ineptitude, haughty exclusiveness and sickening selfishness on the part of the white men in Malaya were, it may be concluded, responsible for the tragic fall of this province.

Black Dragon Society in Japan

A Reuter's message from Washington informs us that a band recruited by the Black Dragon Society in Japan is present in the U.S.A., possibly to help in the invasion of the country. The founder of this Society is Mitsuru Toyama who is now about eighty-seven years old. Receiving his early education in a school of the Spartan type, he became inured to patriotic

traditions. Never thinking of his own advancement, he devoted his energy to the service of the country in his own way. He wanted first that Japan must rise to a status equal to that of any other country. Secondly, he wanted that there must be no departure from the old traditions. In order that both these objectives might be gained, he made himself the head of the Society to which reference has been made. It is more or less a secret body and is akin to the Ku Klux Klan organisation which created so much disturbance and terror in the United States during the twenties. It would lay violent hands upon any person, however high his position might be in the country, if it found that his activities were doing harm to the basic interests of Japan. It was responsible for many murders and for the suppression of liberalism which made such headway after the last war.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Oxford Pamphlets (Nos. 45-51 and 54-56).—Price 4*d*. each. The publishers have maintained fully the reputation for accuracy and scholarship which have invariably characterised this popular series on present-day politics. Events have of late been moving with such rapidity that some of these are tending to get out of date.

The Jewish Question (No. 45)—however, does not come under this category for the problem will be with us till the world succeeds in meeting the very natural demand for a national home for the Jews.

Germany's New Order (No. 46)—is an exceedingly well-written and clever description of the German economic system which came into operation in 1939 and its application to occupied Europe. The section on German plans for the future is interesting. Still more so are the arguments advanced in favour of the opinion that Nazi Germany must continue its adherence to its present policy of expansion through war. The author, however, takes pains to show the fundamental weakness of the new order calling it " nothing but bluff " the real aim of which is to make " exploitation acceptable to its present victims."

Canada (No. 47)—gives a faithful and interesting account of this great Dominion. The section " Unity and Foreign Policy " is specially interesting in view of the lessons India may learn from Canada.

Italian Foreign Policy (No. 48)—after giving a short history of Italy up to 1939, explains how the startling victories of Germany in its Western Campaign lured this country into partnership with the Nazis. There is also an account of the way in which Germany has brought Italy under its control. It ends with the prophecy that there will be no collapse for her until the power of Germany is broken.

Holland and the War (No. 49)—gives an account of the economic life of this country which is followed by an exposition of its constitution, its political parties and its foreign policy. The pamphlet closes with an account of the invasion and occupation of this country by the Germans. The very last section gives Holland's aims in the war now going on and explains why its freedom is valuable to European civilisation and culture.

American Foreign Policy (No. 50)—ends with the adoption by this great democracy of the Cash and Carry policy and must therefore be regarded as not giving its readers the present-day attitude of the United States to World War No. II.

Norway and the War (No. 51)—after presenting a short and illuminating account of Norwegian politics describes the appearance of Major Vidkun Quisling in the public life of this unfortunate country. This is followed by an account of its invasion and occupation by Nazi Germany and gives reasons for the opinion that Norway " should look for help and collaboration mainly to the free nations overseas " such as the British Empire and the United States of America.

In China (No. 54).—Professor P. M. Roxby of the Liverpool University has given his readers a most readable account of the land, its ancient civilisation, the effects of the impact of the West on it in the 19th century and the emergence of modern China, as the result of the nationalist move-

ment. After describing the achievements of the Nanking Government, the reader is told the three aims of the Japanese invasion of 1937 and its results in the shape of both territorial loss and spiritual gain. The most pressing problem of China, the author maintains, is "the hunger of the people" the solution of which depends on "a reasonable and effective land reform" —a problem equally vital and equally interesting to India. Towards the very end of this small, valuable and very interesting pamphlet we are told that "China no less than the Western democracies is fighting for freedom to develop upon her own lines and to preserve the essential values of her civilisation." Stating that it is difficult at the present moment to estimate the significance of China's future role in world democracy, the author says that its attitude and outlook will most probably be largely shaped by "the character and the sincerity of the help" it receives from Russia, the United States and Great Britain.

Japan and the Modern World (No. 55)—gives an account of Japan's foreign policy with special reference to its relations with Britain from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 to the present day making clear how hostility has replaced friendliness. The author, Sir John Pratt, who was in the Consular Service in China bases his conclusions on his personal experience in the descriptions he gives of Japanese nationalism, Japan's conception of her historic mission in Asia and the programmes she has sought to impose on China for her participation in her new order. His remarks on the Psychology of the Japanese which surprises them when other nations expose her policy of expansion for exploitation are very interesting. The reader is also told the reasons for Japan's refusal to co-operate in any scheme of international collaboration and also why Britain must give her moral and material support to China in her fight against Japan. The pamphlet closes with a statement regarding the inevitability of an armed clash with Great Britain and the United States of America.

Belgium and the War (No. 56).—The interesting part of this pamphlet describes pre-war Belgian economy and politics, discusses the difficulties created by the use of French and Dutch by its people and gives the reader an account of Belgian foreign policy up to its invasion and occupation by Germany in May, 1940.

Religion in the U. S. S. R.—By Wilfred C. Smith. Published by Free India Publications, Commercial Buildings, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. 35. Price As. 2.

This is pamphlet No. 1 of the Friends of the Soviet Union and is divided into two broad sections the first of which describes religion before and the second religion after the Revolution. The section on anti-religious propaganda attempts to show that the hostility complained of by orthodoxy was directed against superstition—a matter on which there exists a sharp difference of opinion. The author's conclusion is that Communists are not devoid of those precious spiritual things for which religion as such has always stood. The addition of a short and valuable bibliography adds to the usefulness of the pamphlet which obviously is a popular account of the subject dealt with.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Experimental Physical Chemistry.—By W. G. Palmer, M.A., Sc.D., D.Sc. Published by the Cambridge University Press. 1941. Pp. 322.

To quote the author, the course of work outlined in the book is based on the following considerations: "First, that students both at Universities and in schools cannot often afford to devote more than limited periods to practical work in any one scientific subject. The provision of detailed instructions is, therefore, imperative, in order that satisfying results may be reached without a discouraging waste of time. Secondly, that while being capable of yielding reasonable accuracy, the apparatus ought to be simple enough to be assembled or constructed by the students themselves from ordinary laboratory equipment. Further, that an approach to many important principles through the laboratory, rather than by way of the lecture, more easily stimulates interest, and more certainly ensures comprehension." "Most of the exercises have for many years past formed part of a course of physical chemistry at the University Chemical Laboratory at Cambridge. While much of the course has been found suitable for beginners in the subject, who are candidates for an Honours Degree through the Natural Sciences Tripos, a number of experiments are described which are appropriate to more advanced students." "These examples are all based upon data obtained in the Cambridge laboratory from actual materials and apparatus described in the text. They . . . demonstrate the possible accuracy attainable, and assist in encouraging an orderly and significant exposition of the data."

The last consideration is of great practical utility and has been followed in the reviewer's laboratory. If adhered to, it gives the students self-confidence and also enables them to have a grasp of the sources of errors by comparison of their results with standard data.

The experiments are grouped under the following headings: The densities of gases and vapours, Crystallisation and the properties of crystals, Solutions and solubility, Dilute solutions, Thermochemistry, Ionization, Velocity of chemical reaction, Surface chemistry.

The book is well written and the experiments well chosen. The book will be of help to teachers and students interested in this subject. The reviewer feels a special interest in the experiments described under crystallisation and properties of crystals, mutual solubility and surface chemistry. Some of the experiments in Chapters II, III and VIII will be included in the students' course in this laboratory.

There are two criticisms that might be made. One of them is that the attempt to confine experiments to simple apparatus has its limitations, if over-emphasised there is a danger of students carrying away the idea that such accuracy as is attainable with these apparatuses is quite useful for most purposes. The other is that a student of modern chemistry of the standard intended and especially of physical chemistry should have full opportunities to be familiar with complex physical apparatus, principles of their construction, the theoretical principles underlying their use and accurate measurements with them. And a course of experiments of physical chemistry cannot be very complete if such opportunity is not afforded. It is of course true that part of this work is done in the course in physics but there are special aspects which are not likely to be dealt with there.

In the experiments on viscosity of gelatine reference should have been made to the distinction between Newtonian and non-Newtonian flows.

J. N. M.

America's Economic Strength.—By C. J. Hitch. Published by the Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 114. Price 2*s*. 6*d*. net.

This small volume in "The World To-day Series" was written shortly before America's entry into the war, with a view "to examine the economic organization of the United States of America," and more particularly to "consider her ability to produce those specific goods and services which are most useful for war purposes." The last portion of the book seeks to evaluate the assistance that the U. S. A. might render to the British Empire—in the first place, as a friendly neutral power, and, secondly, by entering the war as an ally. Naturally, the author's conclusions should be modified by the events that have happened subsequently, but the considerations he has urged are re-inforced rather than weakened by later developments. This testifies to the soundness of the author's treatment, and indeed, the book is one of the best introductions to an understanding of the economic position in the U. S. A. on the eve of her entry into the war.

The book begins with a brief description of the development of the American economy in recent years. The growth of the national income, the pattern of occupations in the country and the regional distribution of industries are briefly noted in the first chapter. The second chapter, dealing with Natural Resources, points to the decline in their relative importance as a basis of America's economic strength. Thus, the decline of American agriculture in the last two decades in comparison with other countries is noted, and the reader is told that "the typical American farm is small and uses no power except the muscles of men and animals" (p. 34). This factor as well as the "continued use of antiquated methods of farming" are responsible for the inferior productivity of American agriculture. Some improvement has been made in recent years, but only a few agricultural products leave a surplus available for exports, though there are important potentialities in this direction. Like agriculture, forestry has been declining as the result of unwise exploitation in the past. It is only in the case of minerals and natural fuels and water power that the position regarding natural resources can be described as satisfactory, but even here the exports of minerals are not considerable.

The economic strength of the country is, of course, in evidence chiefly in manufacturing industry, which is dealt with in the third chapter. Certain observations of the author deserve attention. Thus, we are told that the average size of plants has been more or less stationary since the last War, but that the steady increase in productivity as measured by output per labour-hour has been associated only with those industries in which the size of the plant has been increasing. The greater use of power, and the increasing employment of research-workers in the service of industry are pointed out as being the principal factors behind recent progress.

The chief interest of the book lies in its discussion of war industries. Mr. Hitch points out the difficulties of converting the peace-time economy of the U. S. A. to a war footing, which are indeed formidable in the short run. A special difficulty in the case of the U. S. A. is that even in 1941 she had no armaments industry worth speaking about. As Mr. Hitch says, "America is almost literally starting from scratch." "The plants which produced military explosives, small arms and guns during the World War have all been scrapped or converted to other purposes" (p. 62). "The most difficult production problems are heavy artillery, precision instruments, tanks (especially heavy tanks), war-ships, and airplanes and motors. . . . No firm has had any experience in producing heavy tanks because the Army,

prior to the invasion of France, considered them impracticable " (p. 64). The chief bottleneck has been the production of machine-tools. The reader is told that difficulties regarding expansion of the production of airplanes, which is estimated to require a period of three to four years, cannot be removed by any assistance from the motor-car industry, which " has had little experience in the manufacture of the very high-powered engines used in modern military planes " (p. 68).

In the last two chapters, the effects of the war on the economy of the U. S. A. and a consideration of the assistance she might render to Great Britain are discussed very lucidly, and Mr. Hitch arrived at the conclusion that, though in the long run America's entry into the war as an ally of Great Britain would assure victory to the Allies, yet, " in the short run a declaration of war by the United States could not help the Allies very much, and might considerably weaken them . . . the bottleneck is American production rather than Allied cash " (pp. 109-10). These statements did not envisage the loss of Allied control over the resources of Malaya and the East Indies. The present position, therefore, must be one of grave anxiety.

P. C.

IN MEMORIAM

[By The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law]

The University of Calcutta mourns to-day the loss of one who was so near and dear to its members during the long course of his career as an educationist in this province. Mr. Nibaran-chandra Ray was very closely associated with the University as a member of the Senate since July, 1930. He was elected a member of the Syndicate from the Faculty of Science for the first time in the year 1932 and continued to give the best part of his spare time to the deliberations of the Syndicate and the Senate ever since that date. He was a very prominent member of the Faculties of Arts and Science and was also a member of the different Boards and Committees of the University. He cherished a deep love for the Scottish Church College to which he devoted the major portion of his dynamic life and where countless students have benefited by his vast knowledge, his deep wisdom and his keen devotion to duty. His affection for the student community was almost notorious. He had great regard, as every educationist must have, for the cause of girls' education in the country and he was largely responsible for its advancement in the University of Calcutta. Physics was his special subject of study yet his interest in History was abiding. The future history of Bengal will surely keep reserved a seat of honour for the memory of the great educationist and veteran scholar who passes away from our midst for a place of glory at this hour when Bengal "hath need of" him so much.

My affectionate friendship with him dates back to the period before he assumed the heavy responsibility of a member of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. The time for softer tears has not yet come and it is difficult for me or any one of his intimate friends to record the story of his deep and abiding loyalty to his friends and his great sacrifices for his motherland. Education took indeed the major portion of his time and energy but it did not monopolise them. In politics also he participated actively. Moderate in his opinion, he was a prominent member of the National Liberal Federation and acted as its Secretary for a number of years. His devotion to the Indian Association at Calcutta was well known. In fact next to his devotion to the Scottish Church College and the University of Calcutta, the Indian Association claimed a large part of his service. He was its leading Secretary for many years. He loved his country too well. His is a void which will not be filled in years to come.

"If prayer for others' weal avails on high,
Ours will not be lost in air,
But waft his name beyond the sky."

Ourselves

[I. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.—II. New Fellows —III. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer.—IV. General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine.—V. Lady Brahmachari Research Grant.—VI. Affiliation of Colleges.—VII. Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.—VIII. A New D.Sc.—IX. Teachers' Training in Geography.—X. Candidates for University Medals.—XI. Bhanu Dasgupta Medal.]

I. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate the name of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for appointment as Kamala Lecturer for the year 1935. The subject of his lectures will be "The Interaction of Muslim and Indian Cultures: Their Synthesis and Development."

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II. New Fellows

Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. Rabindranarayan Ghosh, M.A., Dr. Satyachurn Law, M.A., Ph D., F.N.I., and Mr. S. Wajid Ali, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, have been renominated Ordinary Fellows of the University. Khan Bahadur Dr. Mahmood Hassan, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, has been nominated an Ordinary Fellow in place of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, resigned.

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III. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who has recently retired from the Vice-chancellorship of the Dacca University, has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for the year 1942. He will lecture on "Social Life in Ancient Bengal."

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IV. General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine

Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M A., B.L , has been re-nominated representative of the University on the General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

V. Lady Brahmachari Research Grant

The University has accepted with thanks the offer of a grant of Rs. 1,000 by Sir U. N. Brahmachari for facilities of scientific research. The grant will be called Lady Brahmachari Grant and will be spent in two equal annual instalments in the Department of Organic Chemistry.

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VI. Affiliation of Colleges

The Governor is pleased to order that Madhab Chowdhury College, Barpeta, Assam, be affiliated to the University in Commercial Geography and in Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping up to the I.A. Standard and that the college will be entitled to present candidates in these subjects for the University examination in 1944 and not earlier. The Radhakanta Handique Girls' College, Gauhati, has been similarly granted affiliation to the University in Botany up to the I.A. Standard, with permission to present candidates in the subject in 1944 and not earlier.

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VII. Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi

The late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda was one of the founders of the Varendra Research Society, and as such was a life member of the Committee of Management of its Museum at Rajshahi. Under Clause 4 of the Government Notification the vacancy caused by his death was to be filled by the University of Calcutta. Accordingly, Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., has been nominated a representative of the University on the Committee of Management.

* * *

VIII. A New D.Sc.

On the joint report of Professor M. Damodaran, Dr. Gilbert Fowler and Dr. K. C. Sen, Mr. Sasankasekhar De, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. His thesis was entitled "Studies in Haemolysis isolated from Cobra (Naja Tripudians) Venom." We congratulate Dr. De.

IX. Teachers' Training in Geography

In April, 1942, 55 candidates appeared at the examination for Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography) and 49 passed. Of the successful candidates, 3 secured distinction.

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X. Candidates for University Medals

On the suggestion of Rai Bahadur Professor K. N. Mitra, the Syndicate has adopted the rule that the recipient of a University medal will not be entitled to become again a candidate for the same.

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XI. Bhanu Dasgupta Medal

The University has accepted with thanks from Mr. S. R. Dasgupta the offer of a donation of Rs. 2,000 in 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes and Rs. 70 in cash for the creation of an endowment, out of which a gold medal may be awarded annually to the student standing first in Experimental Psychology in B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations. The medal will be in the name of the donor's son, Bhanu Dasgupta, who was accidentally drowned in the Ganges in February last.